What to Do about the Economy *Eugene J. McCarthy*

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

THE NEW REPUBLIC

DUPLICATE

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — August 7&14, 1971, 50 cents

McCarthy in '72

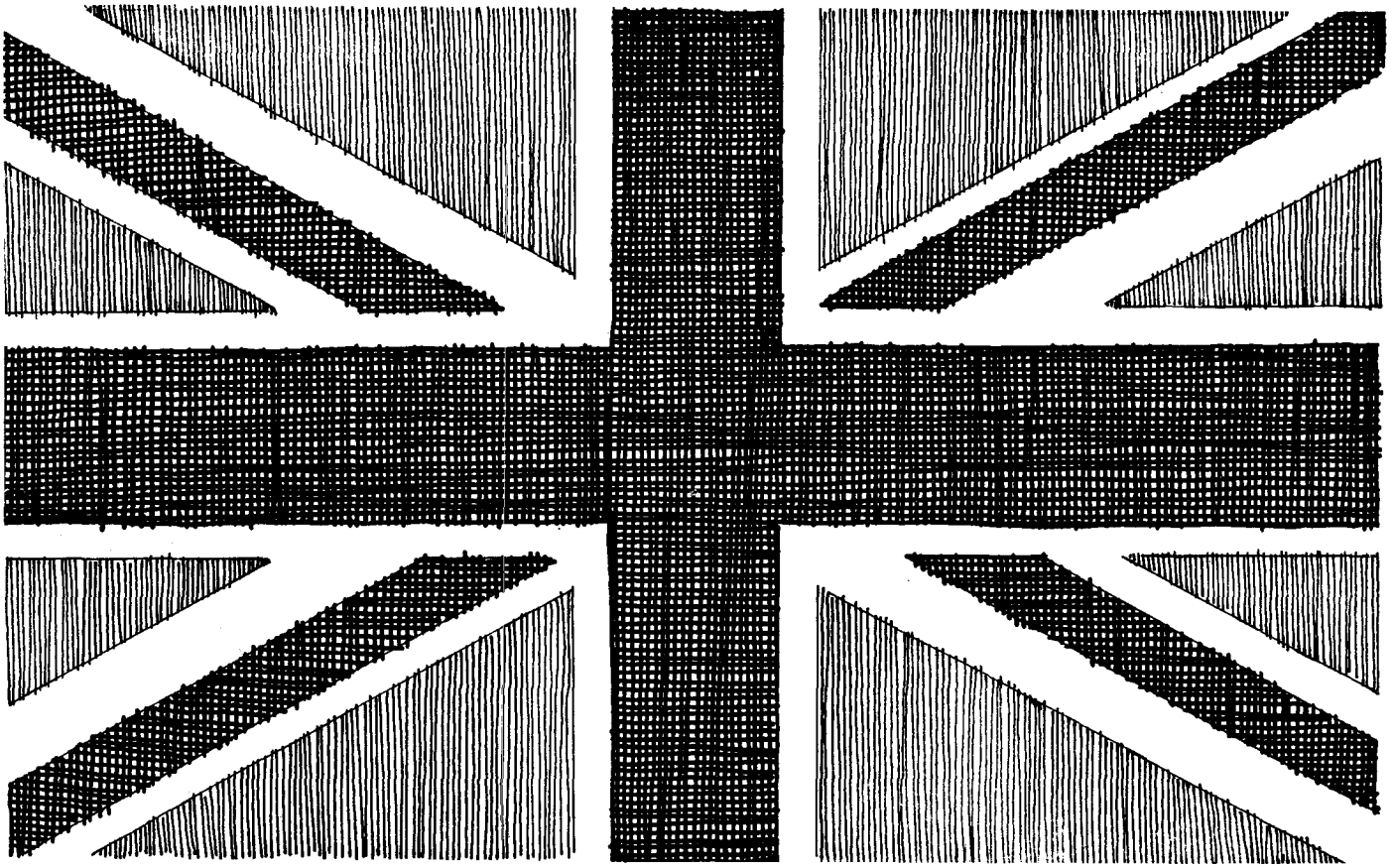
Are the Troops There?
Paul R. Wieck

Agenda in Peking —*The Editors*
Ho's Prison Diary —*Reed Whittemore*
Air Strikes at Laos —*George McT. Kahin*
Nixon's Gamble —*John Osborne*
Reading the Papers —*Eugene G. Windchy*

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

NEWSPAPER
35115
MONTEVALLO ALA
LIBRARY
UNIV OF MONTEVALLO
029 1 0672
NR UIV3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LET'S TALK TURKEY IN LONDON.

10 days (including Thanksgiving)... visit Parliament... lunch at House of Lords dining room with a peer as your host... visit Windsor Castle and Runnymede with luncheon at an old inn on the Thames... more, much more!

Here, at last, the definitive jaunt to London. For 30 special people, The New Republic has planned a really special over-Thanksgiving 10 days in Europe's most exciting city. The perfect non-tourist time for a leisurely visit... why not Christmas shop in London this year? In addition to your visit to Parliament with luncheon in the House of Lords dining room... plus a delightful excursion up the Thames to Windsor Castle and Runnymede (and luncheon at Hind's Head Inn)... there will be visits to the local governing bodies, including the City of London, Guild Hall and lunch at a Pimm's House.

You'll have plenty of time for doing what London does best... the most civilized theatre in the world (no hassle for tickets here)... great shopping (Harrod's and Fortnum and Mason's are spectacular this time of the year)... great restaurants (don't believe that myth about English food)... members of our staff will assist you in reservations, recommendations... whatever you desire.

Plan a day out of London (we'll make the arrangements)... one delightful day trip is to Stratford, Oxford and Warwick Castle. There are others equally intriguing. Your holiday starts with a BOAC flight to London's Heathrow Airport... the first class Cavendish hotel in London's West End (bed and breakfast, of course)... transfers... plus those special events we planned for you.

And best of all, plenty of time to do your thing in London (the best place we know to do any "thing"). You leave New York on Friday, November 19 and return from London on Sunday, November 28. In between... the time of your life in London Town!

*$595.00 * does it all!*

Please reserve _____ spaces on "Let's Talk Turkey In London."
I enclose $_____
($100 for each reservation)

Pathways International
c/o The New Republic
1244 Nineteenth St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ ZIP _____

Phone No. _____

** Subject to lower air fares if available. $55 supplement for single room.*

$100 down payment reserves your place (balance due 30 days prior to departure).

RESERVATIONS LIMITED TO 30 PERSONS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What do urban poverty, education, housing, health care, pollution, inflation, East-West trade, the Common Market, and the social performance of business have in common?

These critical national issues are all topics on the agenda of the Committee for Economic Development, a private, nonpartisan research and educational organization that examines economic and social policy problems and formulates recommendations for their solution. CED's objective approach combines the talents of the nation's business leadership with the scholarship of the country's finest academic minds. The result: one of the most important series of publications available on national policy. *These publications can now be yours at a 50% reduction in price through the CED Reader Forum.*

If you subscribe to the CED Reader Forum, you will receive every CED publication issued in a year (about 10 books and several miscellaneous publications). *An introductory one-year subscription, regularly $15, is now only $7.50.* And in order to bring you up to date on our recent activities, new subscribers will also receive several CED studies published within the past few months. These books are sent with our compliments and are not counted toward fulfillment of your subscription.

Subscribe now to the CED Reader Forum and save 50%

CED **COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**
477 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

I would like to receive *every* CED publication issued during the next twelve months at an introductory price of $7.50. Please enter a one-year subscription in my name to the CED Reader Forum.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ *State* _____ *Zip* _____

☐ Payment of $7.50 enclosed. ☐ Please bill me. ☐ Please send free CED publications catalog. N

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $12, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc., 1244 19th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional mailing offices.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB

from Washington ®

Adversaries

We once had an editor who used to say: Remember, sonny, newspapermen aren't news. Wonder what he would say now?

The news media, a few of them anyway, are fighting with the government. That's a good thing for both sides. But the press can't stop the government from governing, and the government shouldn't stop the press from pressing.

In the Pentagon Papers case, the Nixon administration suspended the First Amendment for 15 days. The Supreme Court reinstated it. But until then, the newspapers were clear losers; they were prevented from publishing news in their possession.

This administration has a hangup about the Constitution. It conveniently forgot the Fourteenth Amendment (no loss of liberty without due process of law) in the Mayday demonstrations. The cops went along the streets, swept up everyone who wasn't wearing a business suit or affluent expression and tossed them in the clink.

The idea was, people with long hair might be *thinking* of trashing the streets or blocking traffic. The cops read their minds, divined their intentions. That's called thought control.

Three impudent reporters brought this to Mr. Nixon's attention on June 1. Six weeks later, we were still waiting for the President to hold another press conference. Press Secretary Ziegler says Mr. Nixon has other ways of communicating with the taxpayers.

We like Mr. Dooley's definition of a good newspaper: It comforts the afflicted, afflicts the comfortable. When the comfortable are afflicted, their comfortable assumptions questioned, they scream. The louder they scream, the better the press is doing its job.

So alliterative Agnew alerts appreciative audiences to the evils of effete eastern editors. Attorney General Mitchell, more prosaic, seeks injunctions. And Chairman Staggers (D, W.Va.) of the House Commerce Committee tries to cite Columbia Broadcasting for contempt.

The House is full of lawyers; they concluded Staggers didn't have a case that would stand up in court. The House decided the First Amendment protects broadcasters, too. It has to.

We don't know whether CBS edited its film so some of Defense official Daniel Henkin's answers were mismatched with unrelated questions. But we suspect the real reason for the outcry against "The Selling of the Pentagon" was that it afflicted comfortable generals – and their friends in Congress.

One thing has to be said: Next to the American Medical Association, no institution is more resistant to self-reform than the news media. How is it that Ralph Nader has overlooked the newspapers?

Alliterative Agnew wants the media to reform themselves. He's right, but he's selling Brand X reform. Try Dooley's brand instead.

You can count on the fingers of one hand the big newspapers that are doing a good job of afflicting the comfortable. This country has 1600 dailies – how many are notable for conscience? Agnew wants press reform that produces less screaming; what's needed is more.

Some administration officials – Mitchell, White House aide John Ehrlichman – frankly dislike reporters. They see the adversary relation between media and government as partisan politics. (Ehrlichman complained that CBS reporter Dan Rather sounded like "an arm of the Democratic committee.")

To reporters, adversary means they chronicle the shortcomings of both parties. The same newsmen now poking at Mr. Nixon probed Lyndon Johnson. (LBJ growled at reporters investigating his wealth: "You and your First Amendment; I'd like to investigate *you*.") They documented Johnson's deceptions long before Dr. Ellsberg made off with the papers.

Mitchell and Ehrlichman have the proper Tory attitude. Reporters are nosy creatures. Always asking questions they've no business asking, making it hard for right-minded men to get their work done. And they make so many mistakes! They do indeed; they'd make fewer if the government gave them more information.

A good many Americans agree with LBJ. The First Amendment is to protect troublemaking public scolds, not honest folk.

Mr. Nixon is clever about the press. He says he hasn't had a fight with reporters since 1962 ("you won't have Richard Nixon to kick around any more, because, gentlemen, this is my last press conference"), then sends Agnew out to flail away.

The Vice President is music to Republican ears. He takes them back to Ike's memorable speech at the 1964 convention. It was a dull affair until the general lambasted the columnists; then the delegates went wild. They stood on chairs, shaking their fists at the press section. Mr. Dooley would have been proud.

Note: If Mr. Nixon intends to negotiate a settlement of the war, he is concealing it as artfully as he concealed the invitation to Peking. The big Vietnam conference in San Clemente starts off with a bang. The White House greets the Vietcong peace plan warmly, says it has "positive elements." Kissinger sets off on a dramatic "fact-finding" trip, grills US commanders in Saigon about a faster pullout.

The big breakthrough at last? By the time the San Clemente talks are over, press secretary Ziegler is saying there will be no US counterproposals, no formal reply. Just more "probing" of Communist intentions. Isn't that what's been going on right along?

Nevertheless, we suppose Mr. Nixon will wind down the war in his own time and way. His fixation with the menace of communism, it turns out, is no stronger, or weaker, than Kennedy's or Johnson's. That is one of the lessons of the Pentagon Papers.

The Democrats were so intimidated by the McCarthy-era attacks on their loyalty (Joe McCarthy superstar, Richard Nixon playing a supporting role) that they decided they had to be more Catholic than the Pope.

Mr. Nixon wound up the California trip with one of those thunderous announcements that Presidents love to make. He's going to Communist China. Only the carpers point out that the announcement covered up his failure to respond to the Vietcong's offer to release American prisoners.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 165, Nos. 6 & 7, Issue 2954-5, August 7&14, 1971. Published weekly (except the issues of July 31, August 14 and August 28, 1971) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50¢. Yearly subscription $12; Foreign $13; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright 1971 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.*

Contents

5–11 Comment
Agenda in Peking, Ending Poverty, Growth Industry, Political Inflation, Mercenaries, Black Birth Control

11 The Nixon Watch: China Gamble – *John Osborne*

13 McCarthy in '72 – *Paul R. Wieck*

16 What to Do about the Economy – *Eugene J. McCarthy*

19 Air Strikes at Laos: One-Third of a Nation Uprooted – *George McT. Kahin*

21 On Reading the Pentagon Papers – *Eugene G. Windchy*

26 Theater and Films – *Stanley Kauffman*

27 Books – Reviews by *Reed Whittemore, David Young, William F. Claire*

27 Poem – *Peter Meinke*

31 Correspondence

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – David Sanford
Literary Editor – Reed Whittemore
Films and Theater – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editor – John Osborne
West Coast Editor – Peter Barnes
Production Manager – Ira Klafter
Assistant to the Editors – Gwen Somers
Contributing Editors –
Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Donald Canty, Robert Coles, Joseph Featherstone, Zalin B. Grant, Gerald W. Johnson, Melville J. Ulmer, Paul R. Wieck
London Correspondent – Anthony Howard
Publisher – Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager – Lucy Samuelson
Business Manager – Pearl Wilmer Ramsey
Advertising Director – F. F. McAdams
20 West 43rd St., New York, N.Y. 10036

Agenda In Peking

Fought, vilified, snubbed during the 22 years it has been sovereign, the Peoples Republic of China now takes note of the President's desire to talk and states that he will be welcome in Peking. It is a high-risk journey and those who want peace will wish him well. They will also keep their fingers crossed. The procedural arrangements alone are tricky: who can recall when a head of state visited another state that he did not formally recognize? Protocol covers such small but symbolic items as what flags will fly, in what position, and where; arrival and departure ceremonies; press and personnel privileges; security arrangements; the question of joint or separate communiques and the language they entail. Transportation may be thorny. Presumably the head of state has his own plane, and the intelligence implications of this are apparent to both parties. This is true also for communications facilities during the President's visit. In short, what is dismissed casually as "technical" consumes a great amount of time and may cause trouble – if either side at any point chooses to use "procedural" questions for that purpose.

The main item on the agenda is of course Taiwan. Here the President is in the position of a man wanting to hurdle a fence while keeping one foot, or at least one toe, in place. He would be faithful, in his fashion, to an Old Friend, while courting the Old Friend's enemy. Chiang has doubtless been informed that the United States will no longer resist Peking's claim to the Security Council seat in the United Nations. But if Chiang insists (and would he not?), the US will try to make the expulsion of Nationalist China from the General Assembly an "important question," thereby requiring a two-thirds Assembly vote. It is reasonable to assume that an agreement with Peking to disagree on this issue has already been reached, and that the trip was deemed sufficiently worthwhile by both sides to warrant separate positions, at least for the coming UN vote. It amounts to Mr. Nixon's telling the Chinese what he will do and the Chinese agreeing that this will not upset the visit, although they oppose his doing it. Then comes the hard part.

Chou En-lai's position has been consistent since the mid-fifties: Peking's relations with Chiang Kai-shek are Peking's business; the American presence on Taiwan is an international question on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which Washington and Peking can deal. The US view has been that before our presence can be negotiated away, Peking must renounce the use of force. Mr. Nixon will probably not now insist on this explicit formulation; at the same time it is highly improbable that the US would "negotiate" an exit from Taiwan, unless the Chinese did in fact "renounce the use of force." So the differences must be deftly skirted; the game to be played is the eliciting of tacit positions which meet the other side's goals, without specifically devising a *quid pro quo* that loses too much face for anyone. This makes the shaping of an agenda a task of extraordinary intricacy. Peking's objective, at a minimum, is the removal of all US military presence, materiel and personnel from the islands under Chiang Kai-shek's rule, including the offshore islands. Next in order of importance to Peking is cessation of all clandestine operations directed against the mainland from Chinese Nationalist bases with US assistance, whether mounted in this area or elsewhere. Third, less burning, is an end to intelligence collection (reconnaissance flights, infiltration teams). Fourth, and perhaps not foreseen by Peking as achievable in this round of talks, is US renunciation of its mutual defense agreement with the Nationalist Chinese. Finally, Peking would like Mr. Nixon to terminate diplomatic relations with the Republic of China. Since the Chinese are not obtuse, they could not expect this to happen before the November 1972 election.

On the first point, Mr. Nixon has room for maneuver. The Taiwan Strait Patrol is already so marginal an operation that it can be ended at a moment's notice. The Nationalists formally own Ching Chuan Kang airfield, and with the end of B-52 flights from Guam against South Vietnam, the US can withdraw its 7000 air force personnel at Ching Chuan Kang and turn all facilities over to Chiang, associating this with the Vietnamization program. The remaining 2000 military officers and enlisted men on Taiwan can be phased out, their "assistance" missions having been "successfully completed," much as our economic aid to Chiang was ended in 1965. The problem here is not the doing of it, but the telling of it. How and when does Mr. Nixon tell Peking, or Taipei? Whom does he tell first? Should these withdrawals be "traded," and if so, for what? The maneuver is complicated. Mao will want to demoralize Chiang and therefore cannot be trusted to keep a secret; Chiang will want to mobilize the Pentagon/CIA interests on his side; and Mr. Nixon will want to keep at least one of these two sides guessing about how far he is really prepared to go. In this connection, it might be noted that the only time the US ever explicitly dealt in Chinese Nationalists interests at Warsaw, the Chinese Communists leaked it immediately. In June 1962, the US responded to Peking's accusation of planning an invasion by assuring the Communists it was opposed to the use of force by either side in the Taiwan Straits. That news reached *The New York Times* from Warsaw before it got to the Department of State.

This suggests that Mr. Nixon may want to talk later about our military presence on Taiwan, while the Chinese will prefer to talk about it earlier. The President may resist talking about covert activities at all, either denying or dodging the question by attributing everything to the Chinese Nationalists. Here, tacit signaling by the cessation of secret operations may suffice, together with the departure from Taiwan of provocateurs known by Peking's "net" on the island and elsewhere, to be involved in these unmentionable enterprises. Administration sources let it be known last week that the Central Intelligence Agency's SR-71 spy-plane flights and reconnaissance by unmanned drones have already been suspended so as to avoid any incident that might provoke China to withdraw its invitation to President Nixon.

Closing down the Taiwan Defense Command would symbolize Mr. Nixon's acceding to Peking's demand on military withdrawal. It would be consistent with the Nixon Doctrine and win applause from an economy-minded Congress. But having already decided to deny the Pentagon's recommendation that nuclear weapons be moved to Taiwan from Okinawa, the President may feel he has done enough. Alternatively he may be emboldened to do more. If he can go whole hog on the US military presence and duck the intelligence issue explicitly (while meeting it tacitly), perhaps he can hold on to the Mutual Defense Treaty.

What is Peking's *quo* for our *quid*? Not an unequivocal renunciation of force, certainly; but Chou has already spoken positively of peaceful unification between Taiwan and China and will do so more as time goes on. Chiang will be made to appear the hard-nosed loser. The US may "stand aside," while professing its "commitment" to the Nationalists as symbolic assurance to audiences in the US and Asia whom Nixon thinks important. But so long as that commitment *is* professed, there will be no full-scale diplomatic relations between Washington and Peking, at least not at the level of ambassadorial exchange.

The President has shown no enthusiasm for negotiating a Vietnam settlement in Paris. He may think that a Chinese screen would be convenient cover for total withdrawal, giving it some sort of international or big power respectability. He will doubtless try to get concessions from the Chinese on Indochina. Conceivably this has already been signaled through references to a new Geneva conference. In any event, whatever emerges is likely to be something which Peking (and Hanoi as well) was already prepared to do. Presumably the Chinese calculus of expectations includes the US having withdrawn from South Vietnam before May, leaving whoever's in charge in Saigon to make it or break it pretty much on their own – not an unpromising prospect for the Vietcong

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and Hanoi. If this expectation proves false, Peking has a high card to play: it can renew its rhetoric of imperialism and its running dogs and cancel its invitation to Mr. Nixon, thereby smudging the President's preelection image as a globe-trotting peacemaker.

Both sides are constrained from going very far on Indochina, because even more "third parties" are listening to that conversation than are listening in on the Taiwan discussion: for the Chinese, the third party audience includes Hanoi, the Pathet Lao, Sihanouk, not to mention the Soviets and the North Koreans; for us, the Saigon government, Souvanna Phouma of Laos, the Thais, as well as the Russians, British, French and Japanese.

"Neutralization" of Indochina is something everybody could agree to, so long as each man's definition is not spelled out too carefully. "No foreign bases" would please the Communist side and fall within the Nixon Doctrine, but so long as the fighting in Indochina goes on, some foreign military assistance would be forthcoming regardless of official agreements, as is true for both Koreas. Hanoi must receive Chinese and Soviet arms if it is to have a credible defense against whatever the US leaves behind in South Vietnam. How political-administrative lines can be drawn in Laos and Cambodia under most foreseeable ceasefires is a mystery. While pro-US forces hold only the capital and the Communists hold much or most of the rest of Laos and Cambodia, any lasting solution is hard to imagine – other than coalition government and negotiations on that can be endless.

Conceivably, although not necessarily, the Chinese will want to talk about Japan. (Korea is unlikely to come up because each side's partner there would take genuine offense.) If Peking lays its cards on the table, Mr. Nixon may have to deal with the Tiao Yu Tai (Senkaku Islands) controversy. This concerns uninhabited islets believed to have vast off-shore oil reserves which are claimed by Tokyo, Taipei and Peking, and which the US is ceding to Japan via the treaty on Okinawa. Mr. Nixon can always give the standard assurance that Japan's constitution prevents offensive armaments, and that its signature of the nonproliferation treaty shows Tokyo's non-nuclear intentions. Whether the President ventures further depends in part on the bureaucratic battle in Washington as well as on Tokyo's already bruised sensitivities.

Mr. Nixon can hardly refrain from trying to involve the Chinese in arms control; he might even urge acceptance of the Soviet Five-Power proposal. The Chinese have a standard response to that: total disarmament and an all-nation conference, meanwhile repeating that they will never be the first to use nuclear weapons. Little more is likely to ensue on this issue at this time. The Chinese will either test or not test an ICBM, according to how they sense the atmospherics of such a move in the context of these negotiations.

While other topics will absorb *inter alia* much that might formally be placed on the agenda, certain "nitty-gritty" matters could also come up. There is, for instance, the roughly $100 million in blocked accounts which the US has held since 1949 against American properties confiscated by the Chinese Communists. American churches have tacked highly inflated estimates on their long lost parishes in the Chinese countryside, but who is to dispute their claims? And how much interest goes on Peking's blocked accounts for 22 years plus?

If something emerges from the talks which requires "fleshing out" to look good, a host of minor subjects can be added for embellishment. Trade missions are the easiest. Some representation in each country to handle the business of both individuals and companies logically follows. Travelers will need some point of guidance and protection, in the absence of full formal embassy relations. News bureaus in both capitals raise problems of reciprocity in the freedom to travel; again, this can be surmounted if it means enough to both sides. Cultural exchanges could be promised without much anxiety; they are the first to go when times get tight and no vested interests are involved. Somewhere along the line Peking will probably release the remaining four Americans held in jail. Beyond this, the "humane" concerns of food, medicine and science could win attention with pledges of mutual exchanges and participation in international conferences other than those directly under UN aegis.

The final question may simply be how much must be negotiated before the visit and how much agreement must emerge by the end of the visit for it to be undertaken at all. This is by far the most elusive item. Depending on one's estimate of the respective needs of the two sides for a summit conference (as distinguished from substantive agreements), one comes out with different guesses. Our hunch is that there will be sufficient agreement to bring the trip off, but that it will fall short of full diplomatic relations being established upon the President's departure from Peking.

Twenty-two years of mutual hostility are not to be blown away by the first breeze. National interests long considered antagonistic are not to be reconciled quickly. It was only four years ago that Secretary of State Rusk, defending a hold-fast position in Vietnam, warned that "within the decade or two, there will be a billion Chinese on the mainland, armed with nuclear weapons, with no certainty about what their attitude toward the rest of Asia will be." He found it ominous to contemplate "the world cut in two by Asian communism, reaching out throughout Southeast Asia."

Peking's hope that Mr. Nixon "will make a change of 180 degrees" will not be realized, but the President has at least broken loose from the strait jacket of containment, freeing the US for a diplomacy of negotiation with Asia's potentially most powerful nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ending Poverty

A federal review committee is considering eliminating poverty from official reports by banning the word itself. The Census Bureau has already decided to say "low-income" instead of "poverty" in its official releases. Government statisticians began thinking along these lines after the press discovered an embarrassing census report last May showing that the number of people below the poverty level, if you'll pardon the expression, is on the rise for the first time in ten years. The statistical change was due only partly to an administrative change in definition. The welfare rolls have increased by more than two and one-quarter million people since January of 1970 – a burden under which state budgets are cracking. Many states, including New York, California, New Jersey and Maine have lowered or are about to lower welfare budgets for the next fiscal year.

Because the states and the cities are complaining so loudly, President Nixon is anxious to have Congress ratify the new welfare bill, which has been passed by the House and is now called HR 1. Last year a similar administration proposal went as far as the Senate Finance Committee, where liberal and conservative members voted to defeat it 10-6. HR 1, drawn up largely by Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills (D, Ark.), is carefully designed to satisfy demands for stricter screening of applicants, while establishing the principle of a guaranteed minimum income. Yet, the bill may die once again in the Finance Committee because the most liberal and the most conservative senators are unhappy with it.

As it stands, HR 1 contains several major improvements over the old system. In simplified terms, it sets a federally guaranteed minimum income of $2400 for a family of four. The major burden of welfare costs is transferred to the federal government, leaving states free to supplement federal payments if they choose. Federal assistance is given to the working poor as well as the unemployable (up to an income level of $4140), thus eliminating the invidious distinction between welfare families and working families. Finally, the bill provides jobs and job training for employable adults who need work but cannot find it, and establishes money incentives for fathers to stay with their families and seek work.

But HR 1 also has a number of loopholes and punitive features which make it unacceptable to Senators Abraham Ribicoff (D, Conn.) and Edward Kennedy (D, Mass.) and groups like the Welfare Rights Organization. They point out, for example, that nothing in the bill would prevent states from lowering or completely eliminating their present welfare programs once the federal system goes into effect. If every state were to abdicate to the federal government and refuse to supplement the basic rate, families in 45 states and the District of Columbia would receive less than they do today. In addition, under the Family Assistance Plan, HR 1 allows a maximum of $3600 to any family, regardless of its size, whereas under the present system, assistance is proportionate to the number of children. Moreover, FAP is not consistent with other portions of HR 1; it grants $2400 to a family of four, while old-age benefits under another section come to the same amount for one couple.

Critics of the bill also note that it denies welfare payments to a family headed by a full-time college student, which means that welfare mothers attending college would have to drop out or give up welfare. It likewise denies welfare to a family whose income during the nine months before applying is higher than the poverty cut-off line. There is no relief for the improvident or the accident-prone. Penalties are imposed on mothers of small children, if the mothers do not seek work. Until 1974, mothers of children up to six years old would not have to get an outside-the-house job, but after that, only mothers of children under three would be exempt. A mother who did not want to put her children in a day care center would have to give up welfare. Employable welfare recipients would be required to accept jobs at 75 percent of the minimum wage ($1.20 an hour) if they could find nothing better. Those who refuse would lose benefits, and their childrens' payments would be turned over to a third-party administrator.

The punitive, coercive character of HR 1 is more offensive to many than its simple economic inconsistencies. The notion that people go on welfare because they're lazy is a myth which some congressmen and many more ordinary citizens accept without evidence. The Ways and Means Committee Report covering the Family Assistance sections of HR 1 says: "Your committee is convinced, both on the basis of specific studies and on the testimony of witnesses before the committee, that there are many thousands of people now on the AFDC rolls who do not belong there." It also expresses shock that the number of welfare recipients increased by *"2¼ million people in one year!"*

Common sense tells us that when a recession produces unemployment, people without jobs will ask for welfare. No one who follows the news should be shocked to learn that a 5.6 percent rate of unemployment coincides with a rush on the welfare offices. Forcing those who can't find regular jobs to work for less than the minimum wage leaves a bad taste when we know that the administration has deliberately induced an economic slow-down as part of its anti-inflation crusade.

On July 12, the President signed an Emergency Employment Act to provide 200,000 new public service jobs for the unemployed. These jobs are *not* specifically marked for poverty cases and they will directly benefit only one-twenty-fifth of the more than five

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

million unemployed in the country. If the government can muster nothing better than this, how does it expect welfare parents to respond favorably to the restrictions against goldbricking that are written into HR 1?

Senator Ribicoff, former Secretary of HEW and a member of the Senate Finance Committee, has sponsored with Senator Kennedy a list of amendments to refashion HR 1 into a more consistent, humane welfare bill. The most important of the 15 amendments ask for an increase in basic welfare rates for a family of four from $2400 to $2800; mandatory state supplements to the federal rate – stabilizing welfare payments at the 1971 level; aid to states with heavy welfare burdens; adjustment of all payments according to the cost-of-living index; and elimination of residency requirements and discouraging application processes.

There is little hope on Capitol Hill that all of these amendments will be approved. Indeed there is little hope that the Senate Finance Committee will report out any form of HR 1 that will meet the major criticisms made of it. Most of the members are skeptical of welfare programs anyway. Last year Chairman Russell Long (D, La.) called the Nixon Family Assistance Plan "Moynihan's monstrosity," something which could "utterly and completely destroy this country." Although he seems to like HR 1 more than the old bill, he now says that he will not approve it. He believes it would create a "permanent welfare subculture," and he expects the majority of the Finance Committee to go along with him in asking for a "workfare program" of guaranteed employment, not income.

HR 1 poses a dilemma for congressmen who don't like it as it stands but fear that no better proposal can survive passage through the labyrinth of conservative committees. Wilbur Mills may refuse to cooperate on a new proposal if his own bill is rejected. Welfare reform is a complicated, expensive, wearying task, and few congressmen or government officials will be eager to begin again from scratch if the 92nd Congress fails, as the 91st did, to come up with legislation. Those who believe that HR 1 is inadequate, and it is, should remember that state governments have already started to cut back welfare rates and will do so as the number of recipients increases. Former Secretary of HEW Wilbur Cohen believes that unless some form of HR 1 is passed, we may have to wait as long as five years for a new welfare system. He is willing to compromise for now on financial specifics if that will persuade congressmen to vote for the bill.

Despite its faults, HR 1 would move the federal government closer to a sensible welfare policy. Congress should make every effort to assure that welfare payments will not fall below their present level, and to eliminate the bill's harassing features. But the principle of a federally guaranteed minimum income makes it worth adopting. HR 1 provides a solid base on which future Congresses can build.

Growth Industry

Since Lyndon Johnson declared war on poverty, the bureaucracy that deals with the problems of the poor has prospered. The Office of Economic Opportunity (according to Senator Abe Ribicoff) says that at last count there are 168 discrete federal antipoverty programs scattered about OEO, the Labor Department, Health, Education, and Welfare and other government agencies. Their total expenditures in 1970 (including administration) were estimated at $23 billion. During the '60s the number of social workers, the people who deal with the poor on a daily basis, increased from 41,000 to 144,000. Poverty has been a growth industry. But what of the poor? A few years ago, Senator Ribicoff was a critic of welfare checks and a booster of social services; he has changed his mind. "We have studied and restudied the problems of the poor," he says. "Research and pilot programs for the 'socioeconomic substrata,' the 'economically disadvantaged,' the 'culturally deprived' and the 'underprivileged' have provided adequate incomes for many – for new government bureaucracies, for research contract industries and other participants in the poverty industry. But the poor remain poor." Federal efforts have focused on administering programs, on making sure that only the qualified poor are helped, on red tape, and all that is very expensive. What has escaped the programmers, in Ribicoff's view, is that "What people without money need most in order to live normal lives is money." Building on that insight, Ribicoff figures that if the $31 billion OEO's Frank Carlucci expects will be spent on all government poverty programs next year (income maintenance, health, education, manpower, and so forth) were dispersed directly to poverty families, every poor family of four would have an income of $4800, which is above the so-called poverty threshold.

Ribicoff is not prepared to advocate this over-simple and politically risky solution to poverty. Instead he has offered 15 amendments to HR1, the welfare reform legislation discussed in this issue (see "Ending Poverty") and suggests preserving only those poverty programs which can be shown to "work well and provide crucial services." He sees the trend as away from services and toward increasing direct payments to the poor.

Political Inflation

Senator George Aiken says he's "against campaign spending, period." He can afford to be. He's unbeatable. He reported spending $17.09 in his 1968 campaign. But less firmly planted politicians like Senators James Buckley (Cons., NY) and John Tunney (D,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Calif.), spent $1.1 million and $1.6 million, respectively, on their 1970 Senate campaigns. Everyone – Mr. Nixon, Congress, and reform groups – agrees that we're reaching the point where only millionaires or friends of millionaires can succeed in politics. In the 1970 Senate elections, 11 of the major 15 candidates *were* millionaires, and all four nonmillionaires were defeated.

The National Committee for an Effective Congress reports that the price per vote in the 1952 Presidential campaigns was 18¢; 32¢ in 1960; 41¢ in 1968; and 60¢ in 1968. In 1968, for broadcast advertising alone, Hubert Humphrey spent approximately $6 million and Richard Nixon approximately $12 million. Political spending in 1970, a nonpresidential election year, was up to $42.4 million – an increase of 67 percent over 1966. These figures are taken from official reports filed by candidates under the provisions of the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925, legislation which Lyndon Johnson called "more loophole than law." Although it requires candidates to report all campaign expenditures made with their consent, most candidates report only "personal expenses," omitting committee spending on the grounds that they didn't know about it. The 1925 law does not cover primary campaigns or party presidential nominations. Faulty wording makes it possible for national political committees to hide their full expenditures by parceling out lump sums to state committees, which are not covered by the law. The Act does present no serious obstacle to political wheeler-dealers; no candidate has ever been prosecuted for violating its regulations. Because reports are so incomplete, the NCEC says, the political campaigns of 1968 really cost about $300 million, not the $70 million recorded in official files. The prediction for 1972 is around $400 million.

Almost every year since 1961, Congress has tried to correct the most blatant deficiencies of the 1925 Act. Last year it approved a bill which would have set a 7¢-per-voter limit on broadcast expenses, suspended equal time regulations for presidential candidates, and lowered the broadcast-time rates during all major elections. The President vetoed it, saying it was not comprehensive enough: "To merely limit one form of spending could encourage candidates to spend even more in other areas."

This year the Senate has under consideration S 382, which is stricter and more inclusive. Originally it limited all federal candidates to a maximum of 5¢ times the number of eligible voters for broadcast expenses, and an identical sum for nonbroadcast media. The Senate Rules Committee amended this section to allow candidates to spend the total figure (10¢ times the number of voters) any way they wish. Thus modified, the restriction loses its force. The bill's sponsors, Senators Mansfield, Cannon, and Pastore, hope to substitute the original version.

Most of the other provisions remain intact. Besides putting a ceiling on spending for television and radio and eliminating equal time rules for federal candidates, the bill requires candidates to report expenses in primaries and party nominations as they formerly were bound to report general elections. The regulations would cover political committees operating within the states and the District of Columbia as well as those which operate nationally. Candidates could no longer claim to be unaware of spending done in their behalf. The bill also requires more thorough and more frequent reports at all stages of the campaign effort. Finally, it grants tax credits and deductions to encourage small contributors.

Most opposition so far appears to be coming from Republicans who feel that suspension of equal time laws may force Nixon to confront his opponent in live debates in 1972. They know the President is reluctant to do this. Nixon has shown no fervent interest in the bill, but he would find it awkward to veto this second attempt at reform. If he does decide to veto it, Senate tacticians may attach S 382 to an important money bill in the fall.

Russell Hemenway, National Director of NCEC, believes that "the chance of its passage diminishes daily as we get closer to the 1972 primaries." But if they can get the bill to the floor, Senate advocates are confident that they have enough votes to win.

Mercenaries

The hushed-up war in Laos shows how the superpowers can raze a country without the public's being much aware of it. Military assistance, CIA funds, and random bombings have helped uproot over a third of that country's population, George McT. Kahin reports in this issue, and how many know or care? Senator Stuart Symington has been trying for many weeks to get this story publicized, but much of it remains hidden. At the very least, Symington believes, the Congress ought to stop financing mercenaries in Laos.

One year after the Fulbright amendment struck support for these mercenaries out of the Defense appropriations bill, or so Fulbright thought, the administration was still paying for Thai troops in Laos. Nothing has prevented Thai forces from expanding their military operations into the northern part of the country. It must have taken all the Pentagon's legal brainpower to short-circuit the Fulbright amendment. The DOD had to chisel money from CIA funds, which it claimed the appropriations bill did not really cover. According to Symington, it has even described the Thai forces as "volunteers" and included them with "local forces in Laos" eligible for special military aid. The administration claims the amendment never defined "local forces

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in Laos and Thailand." Those Asian countries are all so close, you know, and though the Thai nationals in Laos were recruited and trained in Thailand, aren't those Indochinese pretty much the same?

Symington now proposes to specifically prohibit US support for all Thai regulars or irregulars, conscripts or volunteers, who stray into other countries, though he would not forbid US help to Lao troops in Laos or Thai troops in Thailand. With more and more of the people of Laos becoming refugee nationals and paramilitary dependents, the administration would miss the support of Thai troops and its ubiquitous CIA slush fund. But as Mr. Kahin suggests, if we persist in this war by air and by proxy, we may soon find ourselves alone with another enemy – the homeless of Laos.

Black Birth Control

Ours has been called a disgenic society, which is a pedantic way of saying "The rich get rich and the poor have children." In general the most affluent and most educated marry later (they're in school longer) and have smaller families than poor people. Differences in family size are further accounted for by variations in knowledge of and access to effective birth-control techniques. But when white professionals busy themselves with birth control for the poor (meaning blacks) it strikes many blacks as a racist plot. Thus, in a paper presented to the President's Commission on Population Growth and the American Future and published by the Population Reference Bureau in Washington, Charles V. Willie, a black sociologist at Syracuse University, underscores that many blacks are "deeply suspicious of any family planning program initiated by whites," suspecting that it means "extermination." "Unless the American society can assure black people that it is committed to their survival with dignity and equality, they will refuse to cooperate with any national population plan."

The black population of the US has increased from 9.9 percent in 1920 to 11.1 percent, Mr. Willie notes – not a spectacular increase. Population planning, he argues, should take the form of a "national population policy" and not be specifically aimed at the ghetto.

In a second paper published by PRB, a group of U. Mass. academics who surveyed 159 black households in New England found that a large minority of blacks, and particularly males under 30, considered family-planning programs genocidal. A majority of all age groups rejected sterilization and abortion as undesirable. The U. Mass. group concluded that if family planners are to make headway in the ghetto, they will have to transfer much of the responsibility for family-planning clinics to local community control.

The Nixon Watch

China Gamble

The name of the game was the trip itself. Henry Kissinger in Peking and afterward at San Clemente and in Washington, the President announcing that Kissinger had been to Communist China's capital and that he had "accepted with pleasure" an invitation to go there before next May 1, framed the great adventure in terms that excluded any need for a showing of such concrete results as hastened peace in Vietnam or the immediate diplomatic recognition of the Peoples Republic of China by the United States in order to make the Nixon visit appear to have been an historic success. Mr. Nixon ordered his cabinet and begged congressional leaders of both parties to avoid and discourage speculation that might enhance the instant euphoria and the general expectation of world-shaking results that followed the President's televised announcement.

The last ounce of politically useful drama was extracted from the disclosure and from the secrecy that veiled Kissinger's preparatory visit. Once that was accomplished, however, the effort at the White House and at the State Department was to project the President's forthcoming journey to the Peking summit as a self-fulfilling endeavor "to promote better relations in the world and thereby to contribute to the peace of all nations." Scorn was thrown upon the notion that "some hot deal," some gimmicky arrangement with the Peking government, necessarily had to flow from the President's trip if it was not to end with "a sense of failure." Premier Chou En-lai cooperated in Peking. In his first published comments after the Kissinger visit, to a group of visiting American scholars, he emphasized the importance to the Peoples Republic and to the world of the Communist invitation and of the President's acceptance. The later statement of a lesser Communist official, Central Committeeman Kuo Mo-jo, that Mr. Nixon has to show "some results" beforehand if he "really wants to come to China" was dismissed in Washington as the expected vaporings of a negligible figure.

The amazing thing is that the world, so much of its press and so many of its governments were amazed. Seldom and maybe never has a major turn in American foreign policy been so thoroughly signalled in advance. Mr. Nixon's personal ambition to be the President who brought the US and Communist China into accord dates from 1967, when he wrote of the need for such a policy in *Foreign Affairs*. We of the White House press corps were told by our favorite presidential briefer last December 24, during a year-end review of foreign policy, that this administration was ready and anxious to resume talks with the Chinese Communists "at Warsaw *or elsewhere*." Edgar Snow re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ported in the April 30 *Life* that Chairman Mao had said Mr. Nixon would be welcomed in China and that Washington, in February, had just conveyed to Peking the latest of several offers to send an intermediary to arrange a Nixon visit. The President has been saying since April that he hoped and expected to visit Communist China "in some capacity." He publicly recognized on April 29 "a significant change" at the United Nations in the previous resistance to the Peking government's admission to that body and support for the Taiwan government's continued status in it as the China member. Consultations with other governments, including the Taiwan and Japanese governments, on the pending abandonment of US opposition to Peking's admission to the UN, have been going on for months. I reported in this journal's May 1 issue that Henry Kissinger, at the President's order, had been working since the Nixon administration's earliest days to establish effective and friendly communication with Peking and that the Administration was ready for serious business whenever Peking was ready. The announced schedule of Kissinger's "fact-finding trip" to Asia and Paris was so vague and loose that any fool (I have myself particularly in mind) should have perceived, with all of the recent background at hand, that his main destination was Peking. Yet we of the press and, it now turns out, the highest officials of immediately interested governments, notably those in Taiwan and Tokyo, were simply not prepared to believe that *this* President, this man who had made a career of forceful anticommunism, was actually capable of so drastic and dramatic a break not only with past American policy but with his own pattern of attitude and behavior. More important aspects aside, it all provides a lesson in the folly of stereotyping Richard Nixon.

What comes next is what matters. Dependable information upon that score was very sparse after Kissinger reported to the President in California and they returned to the White House. At a press briefing in California (a reporter at a White House press session put on the public record the fact that it was "a Kissinger briefing"), and at a later one Kissinger gave a few journalists (this writer not included) in Washington, he resolutely refused to discuss the substance of his talks with Chou En-lai. He confined himself to trivia that did nothing to minimize his role and the enormous impression that Chou and the other Chinese Communists he met made upon him. But, from those occasions and from other sources, some facts as to what had passed with the Peking officials and as to what the administration now expects did emerge, and the remainder of this report summarizes my interpretation of those facts.

Kissinger in Peking informally accepted the invitation to the President only after Chou and the other Communist conferees, who did not include Mao Tse-tung, convinced him that no foreseeable difference between the two governments would bring about cancellation of the invitation after Mr. Nixon had formally accepted it. Chou convinced Kissinger, and Kissinger convinced Chou, that the Nixon visit in itself, results apart, was in the national interests of both governments and that, once the invitation and acceptance had been announced, *nothing* should be allowed to obstruct the Nixon trip or let it end with "a sense of failure." When I remarked to a minor American participant in the affair that nothing short of war between Communist China and the US could prevent the President's journey or impede a mutual claim of immense success after it occurred, he grinned rather feebly and said that was a fair conclusion.

One of the major points of mutual interest identified and agreed upon in Peking was that Communist China should participate in a final settlement of the whole Indochina problem, at an international conference of the kind proposed by Mr. Nixon last October. The grim appearance of continuing failure in Paris to negotiate a settlement of the Vietnam conflict notwithstanding, the hope and expectation in both Peking and Washington is that at least the beginnings of a Vietnam settlement will be negotiated this year, before Nixon goes to Peking, on terms that will contribute to a later settlement applying to Laos and Cambodia too.

What he heard from Kissinger satisfied Chou En-lai that Mr. Nixon has indeed abandoned US resistance to Peking's admission to UN as *the* China member and that this government's obligations to the rival Taiwan government of Chiang Kai-shek will not be allowed to obstruct that outcome next September. Chiang has been told that the US will fight for the retention of a seat for Taiwan only in the General Assembly and will do that much only if Chiang demands it. His refusal up to July 28 to reply to this communication complicated the difficulties of devising a satisfactory announcement of the new US position, a chore the President gladly left to Secretary of State Rogers. Whether Peking accepts or rejects a UN seat on two-China terms, and Chiang does the same, is in a sense incidental to the US government. Either outcome, it is figured, would remove the Taiwan issue as an obstruction to improved relationships with Peking and, from the Communist Chinese standpoint, would lessen if not eliminate the onus the US bears for its diminished support of Taiwan in or out of the UN.

An unforeseen aftermath of the Nixon announcement was its impact upon the Japanese government. Japan's Taiwan ties are close, its interests there are large, and its government's sense of obligation to the Taiwan government turns out to be a good deal deeper and more compelling than Mr. Nixon's. Working out the resultant difficulties with Japan, which is intended to be "a cornerstone" of the changing US posture in Asia, preoccupied the White House and State Department last week more than the Taiwan problem did.

John Osborne

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

McCarthy in '72

Are the Troops There?

by Paul R. Wieck

One of the riddles former Sen. Gene McCarthy is fond of posing is this: "What did Lazarus do after he was raised?" In the Russian short story where the question is asked, Lazarus doesn't do much of anything. McCarthy has come up with a contemporary answer: Lazarus calls his friends together to discuss another bid for the presidency.

They met the third week in July at the St. Regis, McCarthy's favorite watering hole in New York. The money people came down from Boston, the political operatives from all over. They talked for six hours, a phenomenal length of time, given McCarthy's normal seven-minute attention span for the nuts and bolts of politics. This, in itself, was eagerly read as a favorable omen. One called it "the most intelligent political discussion" she had ever been party to. One question dominated: can McCarthy deal himself back in? By all accounts, the familiar faces were honest to the point of rudeness. They told him the truth as they saw it, perhaps for the first time, because most of them had never been asked before.

What is the truth? It is that millions who followed McCarthy in 1968 see him as a "dropout." Not only would the millions have to be convinced that McCarthy wants to be President and is the best man for the job, but the people gathered at the St. Regis want a little reassurance themselves. No one there was interested in a rerun of 1968. They were duly impressed by a tape McCarthy just happened to have with him of a recent Bloomington, Minn. speech arranged by Allard Lowenstein at which 27,000 people from the Twin Cities area went wild. (Who else is turning them on like that this season?) But they thought they'd like the water tested, in case the Minnesota meeting was a fluke. After six hours, they concluded that since none of the other Democrats has caught fire, there's a chance McCarthy could pull it off. It would require a new kind of commitment from the candidate himself, a comprehensive platform tailored for the seventies, months of hard campaigning through most of the 22 primaries, more than a little luck and lots of money. They were told the money is there.

Fourth-party talk took less than a minute to dismiss. All the participants have a vested interest in the Democratic party, as do many of the believers from 1968. The public strategy was also easy: if he announces, McCarthy would say that he's going after the Democratic nomination, that if the selection processes are faithful to the McGovern (now Fraser) Commission guidelines and the vote of a sanitation worker is equal to that of a governor, he'll abide by the decision of the convention, even if it goes against him. If the nominating process is a closed shop? Well, that's another matter and fourth-party talk would then revive without an assist from the candidate or the faithful gathered in the St. Regis suite. It's good strategy. It puts the monkey on the party's back.

The "dropout" image won't be erased by an announcement or a few speeches. Questions will have to be answered, not curtly or superciliously but fully and candidly. Why did he resign from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee? Why did he vote for Sen. Russell Long over Sen. Edward Kennedy for Whip in January of 1969? Why did he step aside and give former Vice President Hubert Humphrey a clear shot at a Senate seat? Where was he when the millions who put their faith in him in 1968 needed him? They say they were there when *he* needed *them.*

It won't do to pass these questions off as nitpicking. It may give McCarthy some satisfaction to say that his vote for Long didn't make any difference, that Kennedy wasn't that good as Senate Majority Whip and was beaten, in turn, by Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D, W.Va.). It may all be true, but it's a petty retort. Nor will his former followers care to hear that he stepped off the Foreign Relations Committee to make way for Sen. Gale McGee (D, Wyo.), so that the size of the committee wouldn't have to be enlarged and made more unwieldy. That also may be true, but it gave a voice on the committee to one of the few remaining liberal hawks. And why didn't McCarthy run for reelection?

One suspects the answer lies in McCarthy's basic disillusionment with the Senate as an effective institution of government, a feeling many voters may share. One also suspects McCarthy tired of his role in the world's most exclusive club, that he didn't think it worth the effort needed to keep it.

A second part of the answer may be found in the nature of McCarthy the political animal. If the right scent is in the air, he can be a magnificent campaigner, as he often was in New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Oregon and California in 1968. If it isn't? Well, there's Indiana. He never did get a handle on that one and he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was a miserable candidate. He barely made an effort in Nebraska. Yet, he was tough enough to go on to Oregon and win. It adds up to a man who's superb when the atmospherics are right but won't make the effort when they aren't. After the Kennedy assassination in Los Angeles, he quit fighting for all practical purposes and is only now, three years later, giving it another thought. The trouble is: most people want a leader who will not give up; to them that is a prerequisite for a President upon whom the entire nation must depend.

A few who have had a long association with McCarthy explain it in a different way. One says: "It's like having the best thoroughbred in the stable. He's two furlongs ahead in the big race, but you're never sure when he's going to jump the fence or stop and eat some apples." Being two furlongs ahead doesn't prove a thing to the timekeeper. It will take months of hard campaigning to dispel skepticism of this sort.

Four years ago, few people who signed up with McCarthy would have picked him if they'd had a choice. Robert Kennedy was the more popular man. But they didn't have that choice in the fall of '67. A deep sense of urgency which erupted into near-violence on the Pentagon steps was galvanizing anti-war forces, and they rallied behind the first credible public figure to announce himself. The McCarthy campaign grew like "Topsy" and was never under anyone's control. But the commitment was there – first to an issue and then to a man.

It won't be that way in 1972. LBJ no longer sits in the White House, bent on victory in Vietnam. There's a target in the White House, but it's one McCarthy has to share with quite a few other ambitious Democrats. The troops who rallied without hesitation in 1967, grateful just to have someone in those early months, have a range of options today. McCarthy will have to prove he's number one.

One fact about the St. Regis meeting which ought to have pleased McCarthy was the quality of political leadership present. Several, if asked to be his manager, could lend instant credibility to the campaign. No one was asked. There were hints that he'd like some of them to be in the forefront but nothing definite. He has, however, recruited Richard Goodwin for some "paperwork."

Over the last two years, people around McCarthy have been fond of saying, in a derogatory tone, that it wouldn't be "amateur night" if McCarthy tried again. For one thing, there aren't any amateurs left among the faithful who were kicked around in Chicago. Nor would they want it that way again; indeed, they longed in '68 for stronger leadership from the top. It wasn't forthcoming, largely because the candidate refused to deal with staff problems. Would he in 1972? Or would he, at the very least, delegate staff authority to someone else? It would be much easier for McCarthy to do this time. The support which poured out in '68 isn't waiting to pour out now. If McCarthy decides to announce in late September or early October as tentatively planned, he'll be able to control his operation without hardship.

Framing a set of issues that aren't duplicates of other candidates' "platforms" won't be easy. In '68, McCarthy could separate himself from the pack and he did time and again, delighting his supporters and disarming the critics. No presidential candidate had ever taken a poke at the czar of law enforcement, J. Edgar Hoover; indeed, McCarthy backed into it. On national TV, explaining his opposition to "empire building" within the bureaucracy, he was asked: "What about Hoover?" McCarthy agreed Hoover fit that description.

Today, neo-populism seems to be coming back into fashion. Count McCarthy out. He's not a populist, doesn't want to be, and reserves some of his choice barbs for that brand of politics. He's more of an elitist, the genre disdained by the true populist but revered by the intellectual establishment. Nor will McCarthy's position on issues evolve out of any all-night skull sessions in which compromises are hammered out to satisfy this or that self-proclaimed leader of some hyphenated-American voting bloc. His position won't be formed either by polls of the prejudices of a given area, a device favored by those who deal in politics at its lowest common denominator.

Suppose, for a moment, that the questions raised at the St. Regis are resolved to the satisfaction of the McCarthy partisans – that McCarthy builds a professional campaign staff, acts like a candidate out to win, frames a new and convincing set of issues, starts to strike sparks. Who will be willing to back him?

Not the party regulars. They didn't want him last time, and a lot of them are still smarting because McCarthy's troops liquidated them in state after state in 1968. The party hierarchy tends to live in upper-income precincts, and that's where McCarthy was the strongest. His people wiped out one stalwart after another in precinct caucuses. Those who survived weren't happy. In the weeks before Chicago, McCarthy wouldn't even pat them on the bottom, let alone ask for their support. It was a matter for "their conscience," McCarthy would say.

Nor can McCarthy expect help from his former colleagues in the Congress. *They* didn't want him last time. A pertinent story takes us back to the eve of the voting in Chicago, when a long-time McCarthy associate asked another how many votes their candidate would get the next day. The reply: "Oh, 500 to 700, give or take a few." To which the questioner replied: "That's about right. And if all the other candidates withdraw, that's still all he'd get." He went on to complain that a public figure can't make a pastime of witticisms about his colleagues and expect

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them to embrace his candidacy. McCarthy comes up with the best one-liners in circulation, he loves them, and they hurt.

So where are the troops? Two developments since 1968 add an element of reality to McCarthy's ambitions. The first is the 18-year-old vote, which enfranchises about 11 million between the ages of 18 and 21. Add the 14 million who've passed their 21st birthday since 1968 and you have 25 million new voters. A Gallup poll of college students some months back found only John Lindsay receiving a higher "favorable" rating (81 percent as compared to McCarthy's 79 percent), and only Sen. Kennedy (26 to 25) topping McCarthy's rating in the "highly-favorable" category.

Furthermore, the delegate selection process has been opened sufficiently to give these millions of new voters a chance to have influence. In 1972, there will be at least 22 primaries of a sort, from which about 60 percent of the delegates to the convention will be selected, a reversal of the ratio in 1968 when 60 percent were named by conventions or committees. The figure drops to a little less than 50 percent, however, when restricted to direct preference primaries, some of which are in territory hostile to McCarthy (some Southern states and Northern industrial centers).

Since 1968, McCarthy has broadened his constituency somewhat. He made his first inroads into the black community when, as a member of the Senate, he put on a set of well-attended hearings for the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), a growing, 125,000-member activist group that is as tough politically as any in the country. This impressed other leaders in the black community.

He also established good rapport with the Vietnam Vets Against the War, visiting their encampment in Washington three different evenings to "rap". At his invitation, they used his suite in the Capitol Hill Hotel to shower, each being presented with a clean towel and a can of beer. Later, he marched with them in Boston over the Memorial Day weekend.

Is that all?

Marty Peretz, one of his chief financial backers, claims, with some validity, that after Chicago McCarthy did what he could to help every antiwar candidate who asked for assistance, from Alaska where he spoke in behalf of Ernest Gruening's independent candidacy in the fall of 1968 to Cape Cod where he helped Gerry Studds, a McCarthy delegate from New Hampshire who returned home to run for Congress in 1970. He read poetry to raise money for Norval Reece in Pennsylvania, went into the California primary in behalf of ex-Rep. George Brown Jr. All these men lost, and maybe McCarthy knew they would, but he was there. He read more poetry for the Vietnam Moratorium in Washington, DC (in an appearance with Odetta). His speaking schedule has been full and the crowds generally responsive. He has done a fair amount of writing. That, says Pertz, is not the record of a "dropout."

But these good works were done at McCarthy's leisure, as the fancy moved him. A presidential campaign is different. A candidate, particularly one who must prove himself all over again, can't afford to act on impulse or turn on the crowd when he's in the mood, and anyone in McCarthy's 1968 effort knows how easily he's "turned off" by the claptrap of campaigning.

McCarthy's timing is worth mention for three reasons. He called his St. Regis meeting just when it became clear none of the other candidates was flying high. He can now say he has given Muskie and McGovern time to work the field. Secondly, the St. Regis gathering came only a few days after Harold Hughes withdrew, freeing a number of one-time McCarthy faithful who'd become "true believers" in another man. Now, like so many others, they're waiting to see. Finally, it came at a moment when the air was thick with rumors that John Lindsay had decided to sublimate his distaste for Democrats as a genre, formally switch his allegiance and offer himself as the leader. Had McCarthy's timing been off, Lindsay could have sparked a lively national response. He may still.

How committed is McCarthy in August of 1971? You can't tell by press accounts, which always reflect the enigmatic side of the man. His relations with the press are only marginally better than Vice President Agnew's. The press was enamored of Gene in 1968 after five years of the din of LBJ's rhetoric; however, he expected them to be psychic most days and complained if they weren't. The St. Regis meeting, mishandled as far as the daily press is concerned, is an indication he hasn't changed much in this respect.

One bit of evidence offered that the man *has* changed is two telephone calls made from the St. Regis. One was to the Rev. Andrew Young in Atlanta, the other to the Rev. Jesse Jackson in Chicago, two respected black leaders. McCarthy got through to Young, advised him of what was happening, told him there would be another, larger meeting when McCarthy returned from Europe and asked if he'd be interested. Young was. Persons unacquainted with the internal strains of the 1968 campaign have no idea what an impression it made to have McCarthy pick up the phone. His youthful followers wasted incredible sums of money calling all over the country. McCarthy himself could rarely be lured to a telephone.

Old associates will tell you McCarthy has played this game before. There was a meeting at Tom Finletter's home in New York in March of 1967, when McCarthy held a small gathering spellbound as he outlined what had to be done: $150,000 had to be raised, certain staff members hired. Those present pledged to do it all. In the months that followed, he wasn't ac-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cessible to the very people he roused in that room. It's said his instructions to Jerry Eller, his administrative assistant, when Finletter came around in those days was "get him lost." Is the St. Regis meeting another round of the game?

A conversation related by Eller who's still with McCarthy, may shed some light. As he and McCarthy walked down the street after the St. Regis meeting, Eller observed that at least one man who sat through the six hours was not only ready to go, his "mouth was watering."

"How's your mouth," McCarthy asked.

"Dry," Eller replied.

"So's mine," McCarthy said.

Proposals for an Upturn

What to Do about the Economy

by Eugene J. McCarthy

Almost as confusing as the reports on the war in Vietnam are the reports on the state of the American economy. Success is not success; failure is not failure.

The most recent example of this is the June report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, according to which the jobless rate dropped from 6.2 percent in May to 5.6 percent in June after seasonal adjustment. "How much of the total drop in unemployment is real and how much is the result of statistical factors, we cannot say at this time," said Harold Goldstein, assistant commissioner of labor statistics. For the second quarter as a whole, it was explained, unemployment averaged 6 percent, which was essentially unchanged from the 5.9 percent of the preceding quarter. Thus unemployment in mid-year was not getting better but it had stopped getting worse. This was almost the same language Secretary of Defense McNamara used at one stage of the war in Vietnam, when he said we had stopped losing.

Economic indicators give mixed signs of encouragement and discouragement, although the encouragement is on the short side as has been the case, for the most part, since the beginning of the escalation of the war. President Johnson then promised that we could have both guns and butter. Secretary McNamara, not to be outdone, said that we could have two wars like that in Vietnam and still have butter – that is, continue to meet our domestic needs. Both were wrong in their predictions.

In 1969, President Nixon said he had inherited an economy which was showing rather serious weaknesses. He was right.

The unemployment rate in 1966, 1967, 1968 and 1969 held at roughly 3.6 percent. But the cost of living, which had been relatively stable from 1961 through 1965, holding at one point increase per year, rose by more than two points in 1966 and 1967, by 4.2 points in 1968 and in 1969 by five points.

The Gross National Product, which in 1965 had risen by $37 billion and in 1966 by $40 billion, increased in 1967, with the expansion of the war, by approximately $25 billion and in 1968 by about $32 billion.

In roughly the same period, the increase in expenditures for new plant and equipment declined. In 1965 it was $8 billion more than it had been in 1964; in 1966 it was $9 billion more; in 1967 only $2 billion above the amount invested in 1966; and in 1968 only $2.5 billion more than in 1967.

Things have generally worsened under the Nixon administration.

The rate of unemployment in 1970 climbed to 4.9 percent and it now looks as though it will be close to 6 percent by the end of this year. Meanwhile the cost of living has accelerated at a rate more rapid than that which prevailed in the Johnson administration. Consumer prices in 1969 were 5.6 points higher than they were in 1968; in 1970, 5.7 points higher; and in 1971 they are likely to be some 5-plus points above what they were in 1970.

The rate of increase in the Gross National Product has also fallen off, with 1969 producing some $20 billion above 1968; 1970 falling $4 billion below 1969; and 1971, as now seems probable, falling far short of what was anticipated.

Investment in new plant and equipment in 1970 was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only $4 billion above 1969, and the indications are that it will be about $3 billion higher in 1971.

As did President Johnson, President Nixon appears to be taking the easiest political way in dealing with our economic and fiscal problems – putting the burden of responsibility on the Federal Reserve system and the banks and advocating persuasion in various forms. Mr. Johnson, without success, used what is called *jaw-boning* to control inflation. Today, some members of the Nixon administration are suggesting wage-price guidelines, but without enforcement power.

The federal budget during the Johnson administration showed a deficit in each fiscal year, the highest being $25.2 billion in 1968. The Nixon administration, more out of necessity than virtue or intellectual commitment, has come to accept an unbalanced budget and a likely deficit of $55 to $60 billion for fiscal 1972. Neither administration faced up to the possibility of using taxes, however economically helpful, for that might have been too dangerous politically.

As the war was being expanded in 1967, President Johnson did send a tax bill to the House Ways and Means Committee recommending a surcharge to increase government revenues and reduce the general public's purchasing power. But he did not press actively for its adoption at that time. The bill was kept before the Ways and Means Committee as a kind of threat – a serious tactical mistake for any administration, since Ways and Means is the last committee which will allow itself to be used as a pressure instrument. When tax bills are sent to it by the administration, the committee habitually assumes the administration means business. It was not until 1968 that the bill including the surcharge was passed – almost 18 months after it was introduced.

Inconsistency of tax policy was also shown in this period by the Johnson administration with reference to investment credit adopted in 1962. The credit was suspended in 1966, when it should have been continued, and finally restored in 1967.

The Nixon administration has shown similar hesitation and inconsistency with reference to taxation. It took no real position on tax legislation in 1969, until after the Congress had taken the initiative and the administration had more or less lost control. The surcharge was repealed or permitted to run out in 1970, when it should have been continued; the investment credit, which should have been continued, was repealed in 1969.

The Democrats are decrying the rising rate of unemployment, criticizing Mr. Nixon's fiscal policy – particularly the high interest rates – and implying, if not saying, that they would prefer a higher rate of inflation to higher unemployment, which is a fair choice if it is the only one. But they have not come forward with very substantive alternatives to administration policy. What they propose, for the most part, are standard New Deal remedies – greater consumer purchasing power, more public works and public employment. One prospective presidential candidate advocates an advisory commission on wage-price guidelines, hoping it would have a dampening psychological effect. Another has said that he is against the new depreciation proposal of the administration because it would lose over a period of some ten years $35 billion in federal revenues, but he is in favor of reinstating the investment credit, which would lose about the same amount. Others suggest expanded foreign trade, extended unemployment compensation and the exercise of greater influence on public opinion by the administration.

Meanwhile inflation continues; unemployment is high; and we are faced with the even more disturbing reality that some 12 to 13 million Americans are on welfare and nearly 20 million are considered to be living in conditions of poverty.

Taken altogether, these indicate three things: The economy is not producing enough to meet the needs of the nation in war and in peace; the system of distribution is such that 20 million people live in poverty; and the productive uses of manpower are such that 5 to 6 percent of the potential producers in the nation are excluded from participation.

What is wrong and what can and should be done? Why is there poverty in the midst of potential plenty? Why is there unused plant capacity when there are people in need and men and women who are out of work? Why are the old remedies not as effective as they were once believed to be?

The answers involve at least three considerations.

The first is that much of what is being produced by the American economy does not satisfy real human needs. An obvious example of this is the production of military equipment and the general cost of maintaining the Defense Department.

Recent expenditures on space programs are also largely wasted and the fall-out from moon shots and space probes, up to this point, has had scarcely any economic value.

A comparable waste in expenditures by the federal government – at least in the short run – is the highway building program. As a matter of fact, the whole automobile industry is extremely wasteful. Most of the automobiles are one-third to two times larger than they should be; they use more fuel than they should; they contaminate more than they should; they take up more space than they should, both in parking and on the highway; and, of course, in their construction, more materials than should be are used. This industry, more than any other, competes with military expenditures and with war for materials, manpower and finances. If Marx had known about Detroit, he probably would have written another chapter in which he would have suggested that in order to stimulate the capitalistic system, one could use either war or the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

automobile industry. An indication that this is a valid analysis is the fact that at the time of the strike in the automobile industry in 1967, the market, instead of dropping, rose in much the same way that it does today when there is a rumor of peace.

The second consideration that bears on our economy and tends to weaken the influence of the old remedies, techniques and theories is that the distribution of personal income and the expenditure of that income are increasingly by or for two groups in our population: by or for people over 60, and by or for people under 20.

In the older group, most expenditures are for immediate needs such as food, which is in potential oversupply; for services, especially medical services, which are in short supply and not easily increased; and for housing which is also in short supply and which does not respond very quickly to increased demands.

There are signs that consumer attitudes of the younger Americans are also having an effect on overall economic growth. Their clothing habits are different. Their housing habits appear to be somewhat different. Their demands for furniture and equipment are certainly different from those of their parents. They are inclined to buy smaller cars, especially foreign cars. And the impact of their expenditures on the general economic growth is markedly unlike the impact of expenditures by people between 25 and 50.

A third consideration is that there have been mistakes made in traditional government fiscal policy: in taxation, interest policy and the handling of the public debt.

"It's an inflated depression."

What should be done? Wage and price controls with or without enforcement power are not the answer. Even with enforcement power, it would be almost impossible to administer controls, and without enforcement power they are largely meaningless. Moreover, wage and price controls are inappropriate because the pressures on the economy today are not so serious as to require them.

There are four areas, however, in which significant action can be taken.

First, we must continue to apply prudently the theories and the techniques which are available and which have been tested to insure an adequate supply of money and to keep interest rates down. That means accepting the proposals of the monetarists, Keynesians and others so long as what they propose proves useful, while at the same time taking into account changes in the demographic, physical and cultural characteristics of the United States. The surtax should not have been repealed when it was. The Congress should give the President discretionary authority, within limits, to impose or to remove the surtax as an alternative to wage-price controls.

Second, there must be a redirection of government expenditures away from the moon and the military, and the slowing down of programs such as interstate highway building, with more attention given to the special needs of cities.

Third, we must move to redirect nongovernmental expenditures, principally with reference to the automobile, but also with reference to other wasteful expenditures of more limited economic significance. There are various devices which can and should be applied to this end: one is selective excise taxes to discourage wasteful and unnecessary consumption; another is selective credit controls; and still another is positive regulation – in the case of the automobile, for example, as to size and power.

Finally, a sound tax policy should be developed and applied. Investment credit should be reinstated, as it is vitally important to the American economy that in those areas in which capital investment results in increased production, every effort should be made to secure the highest level of productivity. We must acknowledge, also, that governmental sources of capital may have to be expanded beyond the present limited use of financing defense production and bankrupt corporations.

If these things are done, we can look forward to securing production necessary to meet the consumer needs of the country, especially those of the poor and the aged. We can begin to rebuild our cities. We can remain competitive in world markets and we can have production necessary to meet our international obligations – both military and nonmilitary.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Air Strike at Laos

One-Third of a Nation Uprooted

by George McT. Kahin

Vientiane

Since the staff report on refugees in Indochina was prepared for the Senate Judiciary Committee just under a year ago, the number of Laotians uprooted from their homes has increased substantially. It is difficult to know how accurately this increase is reflected in the numbers classified as refugees by USAID's Vientiane Office of Refugee Affairs – for its criterion for a refugee is essentially any displaced person to whom it provides support. But as of June 18 it reported a refugee total of 317,489 as against 253,241 for July of last year. These figures do not cover all of those displaced people under control of the Royal Laotian Government (nor, of course, do they extend to that two-thirds of the country controlled by the pro-Communist Pathet Lao). Currently the Vientiane government estimates that altogether 725,000 Laotians have been displaced by the warfare that has swept the country during the last decade – a figure that USAID regards as roughly accurate. In terms of the 1962 Laotian census estimate of just over two million, this means that about one-third of the population has been uprooted.

Among the 14 provinces of Laos the extent of this dislocation varies considerably. A December 1970 US embassy breakdown headed "Population Displaced by Military Action Since 1962" indicated that in Sayaboury province (lying to the west of the Mekong) only four percent of the population had become refugees, while for Xieng Khouang, previously the third most populous province, the figure was 81 percent. (Xieng Khouang embraces the Plain of Jars and is reported to have the most extensive free-fire zones.)

A large portion of the USAID-supported refugees are classified as "para-military dependents." The number in this category has grown from 95,000 a year ago to 120,000 in April 1971, and roughly 150,000 in mid-June of this year. Although administered through USAID, the funds for this major component of the refugee population derive from the Department of Defense. This would seem appropriate given the fact that these are the families and other dependents of members of the CIA-organized and financed "Clandestine Army," led by the Meo general, Vang Pao. Meo tribesmen still constitute the largest single element of this 30,000 man army; and this helps explain why well over one-third of the USAID-supported refugee population in Laos is made up of Meo. Although in 1965 the Meo constituted approximately 70 percent of Vang Pao's army, heavy attrition because of casualties and some desertions has now reduced the proportion to about 40 percent. Currently the Khmu, who like the Meo are an upland dwelling people, are the second largest ethnic group within the Clandestine Army. Reports that it has been encadred by an increasing number of Thai soldiers are difficult to check out with any degree of reliability, but there is general agreement that at least two battalions of Thai troops have been playing a significant role in the defense of Vang Pao's headquarters at Long Chen.

It is not merely the seesaw fighting on the ground between the anti-Communist forces and the frequently North Vietnamese-supported Pathet Lao that has so severely altered the human geography of Laos. In addition, on wide areas of the country far removed from the Ho Chi Minh Trail complex American air power has had an enormous impact. Clearly there is a considerable relationship between American bombing and the growth in the number of displaced persons, but apparently American embassy personnel in Vientiane are under strict orders to deny this. Moreover, no hint of this major sociopolitical fact is to be found in USAID's recent report, *Facts on Foreign Aid to Laos*, a handsomely printed 200-page volume now widely dispensed to outsiders seeking information from the American Embassy. Its section captioned "Causes and Motives of Refugee Movements" eschews any reference to bombing as a factor in the creation of refugees, and the reader is informed only that: "The motives that prompt a people to choose between two kinds of rule are not always clear, but three conditions of life under the Pathet Lao appear to have prompted the choice of evacuation: the rice tax, portage, and the draft. The people grew more rice than they had ever grown before, but they had less for themselves. They paid it out in the form of taxes – rice to help the state, trading rice, and rice from the heart. The Pathet Lao devised an elaborate labor system of convoys and work crews. They drafted all the young men for the army. The refugees from the Plain of Jars say that primarily for these reasons they chose to leave their homes."

It is undeniable that peasants dislike paying taxes. Unlike Vientiane's Royal Laotian Government, which is so heavily subsidized by the US that it has no need

---

GEORGE MCT. KAHIN, *former director of Cornell University's Southeast Asia program, is the editor of* Governments and Politics of Southeast Asia.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to levy taxes on the peasantry, tax income is essential to the Pathet Lao administration, and it does tax the peasants in its area. Moreover, lacking the air transport so lavishly supplied by the US to both the Clandestine Army and the Royal Laotian Army, the Pathet Lao relies heavily on human porterage. Undoubtedly the frequency with which local populations are obliged to perform this service is much resented.

However, USAID's assessment of the primary reasons for the refugees leaving their villages is distinctly at variance with that of the best informed independent observers, some of whom have made extensive and careful studies of this problem. Among them the consensus is overwhelming that by far the major cause has been bombing by the US Air Force – and the peasants' desire to get out of the areas of Laos against which it operates.

An important aspect of this air war was pointed out almost a year ago in the staff report of the Senate's Committee on Refugees, which observed that a major objective of American bombing in Laos is "the conducting and support of massive evacuations of local villagers from Pathet Lao regions in order to deny the enemy population resources." This conclusion is, of course, not endorsed by the Nixon administration, any more than it is willing to acknowledge the devastating impact of American bombing on the peasant population of Laos. Moreover, the American embassy in Vientiane denies that, except for the area of the Ho Chi Minh trail, the American air force regards any parts of Laos as free strike zones. A US army briefing officer in Vientiane told me that apart from the Trail there were no free strike zones "as such" and was not disposed to discuss the matter further. However, among knowledgeable observers in Vientiane outside of the embassy the belief is widespread that such zones have existed at least since 1965, and that it is from them that many of the refugees have fled. A cabinet member of the Royal Laotian Government stated to me quite bluntly: "The reason why most refugees leave their homes is because of the fact that they are obliged to by the Americans and in order to escape the bombing. It is US policy to move out populations from areas administered by the Pathet Lao in order to deprive it of manpower. The object is to control the population."

One of the most careful and extensive of recent studies concerning the refugees evacuated from the Plain of Jars refers to the impact of US air power there as follows: "Prior to 1967, bombings were light and far from populated centers. By 1968 the intensity of the bombings was such that no organized life was possible in the villages. The villagers moved to the outskirts and then deeper and deeper into the forest as the bombing climax reached its peak in 1969 when jet planes came daily and destroyed all stationary structures. Nothing was left standing. The villagers lived in trenches and holes or in caves. They only farmed at night. All the informants, without exception, had their villages completely destroyed. In the last phase, bombings were aimed at the systematic destruction of the material basis of the civilian society."

A similar conclusion was reached by another well-qualified observer in a report completed this June, based on a wide sample from all refugee camps in the Vientiane Plain (to which about 25,000 Lao from the Plain of Jars were evacuated in early 1970). In addition, his substantial body of data indicated that there had been a death rate of at least five percent among these refugees prior to their removal, with the villagers attributing the overwhelming proportion of these fatalities to aerial bombardment. As the second most important cause they gave artillery fire by Vang Pao's forces against presumed Pathet Lao controlled areas. The third ranking cause was stated to be Pathet Lao-North Vietnamese military activities, particularly land mines.

My own very limited experience is in accord with these surveys. This involved a random sampling of six scattered households during a walk through one of the largest of these refugee villages at the end of June. Members of the first two households with whom I talked stated without any equivocation that the major reason that they had left their homes was American bombardment. They said that this had become increasingly heavy beginning in the second half of 1968 and it had been impossible to go on living normally; they had had to live in holes during the day and cultivate their fields at night. In one of these households the inhabitants said that they had to switch holes every five or six days because the paths they beat each night from their holes to the fields became too visible from the air during the daytime and showed where the holes were, resulting in their bombardment. In the other house a woman who was surrounded by three children said that of her five children two had been killed by bombs in September 1969 when they were playing together a short distance from her. After their death she and the rest of her family had moved to another village to get away from the bombing, but it, too, was hit so frequently that they moved to a third village, which was also bombed and from which in early 1970 they were evacuated by the Vientiane government.

In the third household at which I stopped the inhab-

COMING: Two articles by Joseph Featherstone on the growing fad for open schools

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

itants appeared to be too fearful to talk about why they had moved. At the fourth house (which like the others I picked myself) were people who stated that their village was first bombed in 1964, but that the bombing only became heavy in mid-1969 when many people in the village were killed. From then until their evacuation in February 1970 they had been living in holes and caves to escape the bombing. In the fifth house there was a man clearly of military age, who was alone and was unwilling to discuss his evacuation. The sixth and final household at which I stopped was inhabited by a very old couple looking after their grandchildren, who said they had left their village to live in a cave to escape bombing but that two of the children had been killed when the cave had been mortared by Meo soldiers.

It is difficult for anyone to assess the effect on political attitudes wrought by the vast displacement of population in Laos. This is particularly so with respect to those who are living in temporary refugee villages or camps far from their original homes, their future uncertain, and immediately dependent economically on a government in Vientiane whose presence they were at best only dimly aware of before. But there is scant reason to assume that they identify strongly with that regime. Indeed, one official of the Royal Lao Government told me that if honest elections were to be held he is convinced that a considerable majority of the refugees would vote for the Pathet Lao. Presumably in Laos, no more than in Vietnam, should one assume that peasants who have been displaced by American air power are likely to be loyal to the US-supported government that runs the refugee camps and dispenses the food paid for by American funds.

The Prophetic Fiction of Graham Greene

On Reading the Pentagon Papers

by Eugene G. Windchy

Though the Pentagon Papers hurt the Democrats as a party more than they do the Republicans, they chiefly benefit the war critics of both parties, and that is a major reason why the Nixon administration has reacted so strongly against the disclosures. Now the critics can buttress their case with piles of official documents that, secretly, have been agreeing with them all along. It is the government's supporters who have been misled, not its antagonists. From almost anybody's point of view, this makes our national leaders look like a pack of knaves, if not fools. It took a retired official to state the fact plainly. Publication of the Pentagon Papers, said Walt W. Rostow, "did not just hurt President Johnson. It encouraged the widespread notion that, well, you can't believe a President."

The critics have always said that the United States was not stopping aggression in Vietnam but was interfering in Vietnamese internal affairs. Thanks to Daniel Ellsberg, that now is more evident than before. Far from supporting the Geneva settlement, the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower considered it a "disaster" and postponed the reunification of Vietnam by free elections – because it had no confidence in the outcome of free elections. A team of American agents launched anti-Communist activities in Vietnam even before the Geneva Conference ended; later they tried to ruin the municipal bus system in Hanoi by pouring contaminants into the fuel supply.

On its own initiative, Washington encouraged and financed what it hoped would be a permanent, non-Communist government in southern Vietnam. In the private councils of officialdom, there was little cant about giving the "South Vietnamese people" an opportunity to determine their future. It was fully realized that, left to themselves, the southern Vietnamese would choose the *wrong* future. Nearly a decade passed, and

---

EUGENE G. WINDCHY *has spent four years investigating the Tonkin Gulf incidents. His book,* Tonkin Gulf, *will be published on August 27 by Doubleday.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the US Ambassador to Saigon, Henry Cabot Lodge, advised the State Department (on October 25, 1963) that South Vietnam was still "not ready" for "a democratic election." Thus the ideals of democracy and self-determination were subordinated to the demands of anti-Communism. (In the most authoritative secret documents, we find the American goal stated as an independent, non-Communist South Vietnam. Yet even some insiders managed to miss the point. In his memoranda, Professor Rostow kept saying that the American aim was to restore the Geneva settlement.) There can be little doubt that historians will pinpoint the American rejection of the Geneva settlement as the basic cause of a second war in Indochina.

As for the nature of the Communist-led insurgency in South Vietnam, which flared in the late 1950s, the critics repeatedly said that it had great popular support and that North Vietnamese help, though available, was probably not *needed* by the Viet Cong. That is why the critics have scoffed at recurrent plans for "Vietnamization." Now the Pentagon Papers reveal that the official policymakers themselves were not sure about the importance of North Vietnam's role in the war – though they undertook to devastate that country. According to official records, the insurgency in South Vietnam began largely on its own, in response to Ngo Dinh Diem's repression. In 1959 Hanoi decided that it had better assert control of the increasingly successful rebellion. But two years later American intelligence estimated that 80-90 percent of the Viet Cong had been recruited locally, and reported little evidence of the guerrillas' relying on external supplies.

For years US strategy called for defeating the Viet Cong in the South, on their home ground, with Vietnamese troops. That strategy did not work. In the spring of 1964, American officials were ordered to go out and get enough evidence of North Vietnamese help to the Viet Cong so that "escalation" of the war could be justified if escalation became necessary.

Nobody waited for the evidence to come in. Washington went ahead with a new strategy that included secret attacks on the North, preparations for an overt bombing campaign and ultimatums delivered to Hanoi by third country intermediaries. The ultimatums did not have the desired effect, and in the fall of '64 our policymakers agreed that bombing would be necessary. President Johnson has been quoted as saying he made that decision in October.

Meanwhile, what about the evidence of North Vietnamese aggression? Lyndon Johnson, the peace candidate, won a landslide victory at the polls on November 3. Two days later the government was "on the verge of intelligence agreement that infiltration has in fact mounted," according to a memorandum written by William P. Bundy, assistant secretary of state for the Far East. Whether our spies were left hanging on the verge as the war machine pushed on, I do not know. However more evidence of infiltration was turned up by the intelligence community and a report was put together by Chester L. Cooper, a former intelligence officer. When the bombing campaign began, in February of 1965, the State Department published a white paper titled "Aggression from the North." The evidence in it was rather slim, as many officials complained privately at the time. Few of the infiltrators mentioned had been born in North Vietnam; most were southerners who had gone north and come back. The white paper, of course, blamed North Vietnam for the breakdown of the Geneva settlement.

The Pentagon's team of analysts ended up mystified as to why the President finally decided to bomb North Vietnam. The Joint Chiefs wanted to bomb, and there were plenty of "reasons" for doing so (eliminate North Vietnamese influence from the war and "improve morale" in South Vietnam), but, concluded the Pentagon analysts, "the decision to go ahead with the strikes seems to have resulted as much from the lack of alternative proposals as from any compelling logic in their favor." In other words, bombing the North was something that hadn't been tried yet. It was partly an experiment.

A weakness of the Pentagon analysis (as summarized by *The New York Times*), is the persistent assumption that the "air war" affected only North Vietnam and Laos. In fact American aircraft started an overt bombing campaign in South Vietnam at the same time. This burgeoning section of the war was overshadowed by the more dramatic developments up North; however, during February and March of 1965, approximately the same number of raids hit North Vietnam and South Vietnam – *before* American ground troops were committed to battle in the South. Thus the bombing of North Vietnam provided both a cover and an excuse for the bombing of South Vietnam. In addition, Washington hoped that the North Vietnamese government, to save itself and its industrial plant, would find a way to halt the insurgency that it was supporting in the South. The foregoing analysis strikes me as plausible, though somewhat chilling. Other analyses could be put forward. The truth of the matter depends on what exactly was in President Johnson's mind.

The enigmatic Secretary Rusk used to be the government's spokesman on "aggression from the north." In the spring of 1967, when the bombing was going full blast, I had lunch with two critics of the war, one a government official, the other a magazine editor, and remarked that recently I had changed my opinion of Rusk. Previously I had thought that the secretary himself did not believe in the invasion from North Vietnam, but talked as if he did in order to justify fighting in the South. Now, however, I had come to the conclusion that Rusk *did* believe in the invasion. This statement kicked off a very serious argument. The government official insisted that Rusk was far too *intelligent*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to believe in the invasion; the magazine editor, with equal tenacity, held that Rusk was far too *honorable* not to believe in his own slogan. Oddly, each of the two felt that he was defending Rusk from my unwarranted denigration. But none of us thought North Vietnam invaded South Vietnam on or about election day, 1964.

Some describe the war as a massive failure of morality. Others point to historical and psychological factors: the longstanding custom of intervening in the affairs of poorer countries, the cultural gap between the Orient and the Occident (and its concomitant racism), the anti-Communist fervor of the post-World War II period (including the "loss of China"), the shock of the Korean War, Moscow and Peking's encouragement of "wars of liberation" (which President John F. Kennedy took as a direct challenge), the natural "arrogance of power." As one who has lived in the Orient, I would suggest that special attention be paid to the great gap between East and West. Recently I was dismayed to find one of my favorite newspaper columnists referring to the tragedy of Vietnam as a "shabby affair," and declaring that the basic error of the United States was not to realize that Vietnam was "insignificant." Another writer, who for long reported items of progress in the Vietnamization program, now has decided that Vietnamization can never work – because the people of Vietnam are no good. That is what I call racism.

The recent disclosures tell us something not only about the men who were wrong but the men who were right. It is my impression that, within the Executive branch of government, the *career civilians* – as distinguished from the high-ranking political appointees and the uniformed military – can claim to have had the clearest vision. There were important exceptions; and it must be noted that the civilian careerists usually did not possess much power – if they had, it might have distorted their judgment. However, the professional intelligence community, from the very beginning, warned that Vietnam would be a quagmire. The record of the State Department professionals is spotty (perhaps because the State Department is more subject to political influence), but at critical times certain Department officers had both the brains and the guts to recommend getting out of Vietnam.

One such State Department official was Charlton Ogburn, Jr., who in 1954 wrote in a memorandum to his superiors: "The fact is that it is none of our business how China is governed or how Vietnam is governed – provided that their governments came into power through internal processes. I do not believe it is up to us or within our power to save another country from itself by the use of force." Ogburn had fought in the jungles of Burma during World War II. The people and the terrain of Southeast Asia were not just pawns or abstractions to him. At another critical point, objections were raised by Paul Kattenburg, then a 39-year-old State Department foreign service officer. On August 31, 1963, as the National Security Council floundered in a morass of indecision, not knowing what to do about the inept government of President Ngo Dinh Diem, Kattenburg argued for getting out. Since, as it appeared, the United States could not win in Vietnam either with Diem or without him, the professional diplomat suggested that "it would be better for us to make the decision to get out honorably." Kattenburg was growled down by Vice President Johnson, Secretary Rusk and Secretary McNamara, none of whom cared to hear defeatist talk. The discussion continued on the premise that South Vietnam somehow would be saved.

In a survival situation, such as Great Britain's in 1940, a seemingly irrational assumption of final victory can be both wise and necessary. But the future of South Vietnam was never that important to the United States. Yet high officials came to regard South Vietnam as a "test case," an essential "domino" in the world struggle with Communism.

On the basis of recent disclosures, one could argue for having fewer political appointees and more civilian professionals in policymaking positions. On the other hand, if such a trend were not counterbalanced by other reforms, it would compound the danger of excessive secrecy. What steered the nation into Vietnam was a series of tiny but powerful cabals. The Congress and the public were not consulted in a meaningful way; the public, in particular, seldom had an idea of the "options" being considered.

When one does not see one's rulers at work, it is easy to imagine them as wise and prudent men who, in making their decisions, consult a variety of competent specialists. When the curtain is pulled back, a different scene emerges, resembling something closer to those spy movies on television, in which the "good guys" are planning some intricate and dangerous enterprise, often to no worthwhile end. The secret documents of the war sometimes gave me the impression of men playing roles; I felt that the authors were thinking up arcane things to say merely to impress each other and their stenographers. For example, I was staggered to find a high-level State Department document referring to third country intermediaries as "cut-outs" – spy lingo for agents who carry messages between other agents. The term was both melodramatic and inappropriate; further, one would expect a threat of war to be dramatic enough in itself.

It was a British novelist, Graham Greene, who spotted early this air of official make-believe. There are striking similarities between *The Quiet American*, Greene's novel about Vietnam, and the Pentagon Papers.

It will be recalled that Greene's protagonist was a bookish and immature fellow by the name of Alden Pyle, who represented American cloak-and-dagger interests during the French war in Vietnam. (Usually it is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

said that Pyle was based on an American Air Force colonel working for the CIA; Greene himself has said that the character was not based on any individual.) The fictitious American strove to establish a Third Force in Vietnam – neither French nor Communist in its orientation, but an indigenous American protege. To that end, Pyle supplied explosives to a Vietnamese general who used them to terrorize. Saigon erupted with "bicycle bombs." The carnage was blamed on the Communists. Following the worst explosion, Pyle stood at the scene, horrified, staring at some blood on his shoes. Finally he remarked that he'd better get a shine before returning to the office. The young man truly regretted the deaths around him, but he consoled himself with the thought that these people had died for democracy.

Alden Pyle was murdered by the Communists, who did not appreciate being blamed for his activities. Ten years later, Pyle's spiritual successors were hard at work, doing the same things and preparing far greater horrors to come. It is uncanny how the ghost of Alden Pyle haunts the Pentagon Papers. His Boy Scout enthusiasm, his addiction to jargon, his excessive faith in abstract concepts, his moral blindspots – all survived in the secret world. One thing that gradually fell by the wayside was the thought of anyone's dying for democracy.

The ghost of Alden Pyle first jumped at me from the September, 1964, schedule of 34A operations – a program of clandestine attacks on North Vietnam. From the Pentagon Papers I learned something new about 34A: it included acts of terrorism. Routinely, North Vietnamese fishing boats were captured and then set adrift with booby traps in them. Here is the official description of what were called "junk capture missions": "(b) 1-30 September – Two junk capture missions; remove captives for 36-48 hours interrogation; booby-trap junk with antidisturbance devices and release; captives returned after interrogation; timing depends on sea conditions and current intelligence."

Since the previous spring it had been a regular practice to seize a North Vietnamese junk, detain the occupants for interrogation, and set their boat free with concealed explosives aboard. When some unsuspecting North Vietnamese happened upon the abandoned craft, he would step aboard and get blown to bits – or perhaps get slightly maimed. I suppose that the victim's companions, assuming they survived, were to blame the calamity on their Communist masters in Hanoi who had unleashed a war of aggression in South Vietnam. Something like that must have gone through the official mind. Who knows? Maybe somebody thought Ho Chi Minh would take a Sunday sail and find one of these boats. What I wish to point out is that the people who found the abandoned craft probably would be a typical fishing family, of the kind that work the shores of both North Vietnam and South Vietnam. The individual who hopped aboard to make the unlucky discovery might be the father of the family, his 30-year-old wife or his 12-year-old son.

Perhaps the 34A planners could not visualize a Vietnamese fishing junk, though they had made many trips to Vietnam at public expense. Surely, however, they could visualize a plain, dusty road. One of the 34A tricks was to sprinkle antipersonnel mines on North Vietnamese roads, perhaps with the hope of discouraging infiltration from north to south. That was about as sensible as if the North Vietnamese had mined US Route 66 to discourage American military "advisers" from traveling to South Vietnam.

Throughout the long American involvement with Vietnam, one of the basic problems has been the inability of official planners to see anything from the Vietnamese point of view. They have not been able to imagine the equivalent *over here* of what they are doing *over there.*

We cannot blame the excesses of 34A on a clique of professional spies operating beyond the ken of more responsible officials. The men behind these secret operations were the same small circle that planned the rest of the war. We find the genesis of 34A in a memorandum prepared by Defense Secretary McNamara, who, ironically, was the man who commissioned the Pentagon Papers. McNamara's memorandum was addressed to President Johnson and dated December 23, 1963 – long before the President's dovish election campaign. The Defense Secretary had just visited Saigon. He reported to the President: "Plans for covert action into North Vietnam were prepared *as we had requested* [italics added] and were an excellent job. They present a wide variety of sabotage and psychological operations against North Vietnam from which I believe we should aim to select those that provide maximum pressure with minimum risk . . . General Krulak of the JCS [Joint Chiefs of Staff] is chairing a group that will lay out a program in the next ten days for your consideration."

On schedule, Major General Victor H. Krulak, USMC, sent details to the President.

The September plan that I quoted earlier was prepared by General Krulak's successor, Major General Rollen H. Anthis, USAF. Copies were sent to John T. McNaughton, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, and to William P. Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East. Secretary McNamara was on regular distribution for 34A schedules. It is not known exactly who else received this information; it did spread farther than the individuals mentioned in this paragraph.

The original objective of 34A was to intimidate the North Vietnamese with a gradual application of "pressure." Secret attacks from the air and sea were to increase in frequency and severity, stage by stage, so that they would imply an eventual apocalypse if the North Vietnamese did not give in. Secretary Rusk had a say-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing: "When the United States puts pressure on something, anything, it gives." That belief was the basic underpinning of the whole Vietnam strategy. But Vietnam itself is what "gave," along with the American taxpayer and the American serviceman.

The junk capture missions seem to have begun in May of 1964. By mid-summer 34A gunboats were shelling the North Vietnamese coast. That kind of activity was mixed up with the historic Tonkin Gulf naval incidents that took place early in August. The first gunboat raids occurred just two nights before the American destroyer *Maddox* got into a scrap with Communist torpedo boats; more shelling preceded the second destroyer incident. (There is no doubt that the *Maddox* fought with North Vietnamese torpedo boats on August 2 – amid peculiar circumstances; there has been great controversy as to whether the North Vietnamese made a "second attack" on August 4. Following the second reported attack, Congress was stampeded into passing the Tonkin Gulf resolution, which President Johnson used as a blank check for war.)

The 34A program did not cause the North Vietnamese to give in – a nonresult which had been expected by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. They had more confidence in a campaign of overt bombing to be known as Rolling Thunder. The Rolling Thunder raids, gradually increasing in frequency and severity, became the logical – or illogical – successor to 34A. That is one way of looking at the inception of the bombing campaign.

President Johnson started the bombing shortly after his second inauguration, and that is *another* way of looking at it. One who rejects attaching any political significance to the timing is Johnson's former aide, Professor Rostow. With unintended humor, Rostow recently declared, "There is not one scintilla of evidence that the elections determined in any way the decisions taken in the war by the President."

The final bombing plan adopted by Mr. Johnson and his closest advisers was opposed by both the intelligence community and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. An intelligence panel representing the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency and the State Department expressed doubt that any reasonable amount of bombing could break the will of a decentralized, agricultural country like North Vietnam. The Joint Chiefs, as noted earlier, were eager to bomb, but they disliked the President's gradual approach to it. They thought it would be more effective to hit harder and all at once. (One objection to that was the limited number of suitable targets in North Vietnam: too-heavy bombing would "kill the hostage.") It occurred to McGeorge Bundy, the President's adviser on national security affairs, that the bombing campaign might not work. Bundy, however, thought it would be worth the effort.

It is an almost incredible fact – too incredible for inclusion in a novel – that some planners of the escalation saw no great hope of winning the war, but justified it on the grounds that the United States would obtain international credit – as a "good doctor" – for trying to save a hopeless case. Those who expressed this view most clearly were William Bundy and John McNaughton. (Two who spoke up in disagreement were Secretary Rusk and Under Secretary of State George Ball.)

According to the Pentagon analysis, when the bombing started the little circle of official planners entertained high hopes for its success. There is other evidence that President Johnson was in a euphoric mood. However by the end of March the high hopes had faded. The bombing did not seem likely to bring the enemy to his knees in the near future. The next logical – or illogical – step was to commit ground troops.

At this point John McNaughton drew up one of his elaborate scenarios. This was the memorandum that opened with a now-notorious statement of US war aims: 70 percent to avoid humiliation, 20 percent to stop Chinese expansion and 10 percent to help the people of South Vietnam. (Some commentators have thought that assessment rather accurate for its time, even though the Chinese connection with South Vietnam was far more tenuous than that of North Vietnam.) McNaughton had a reputation for brilliance; still a young man, he had come to the Defense Department from a law professorship at Harvard.

McNaughton's memorandum is one of the best examples of "defense intellectual" jargon I know. Alden Pyle might have been appalled by some of it. Consider, for example, one of the "circuit breaking" plans for emergency de-escalation of the bombing campaign. It read like this:

"(3) Shunt. Plateau the air strikes per para (2) and divert the energy into:

"(a) A mine- and/or ship-blockade of DRV ports."

At first glance that looks very technical and neat. But, if one thinks about it, would mining and/or blockading the North Vietnamese ports *de*-escalate the war?

I bring up this matter of jargon not for reasons of literary taste, but because I believe it has had an important function in the war. Like the heroin our soldiers are becoming addicted to, jargon insulates the user from reality. Alden Pyle might never have gotten blood on his shoes if a friend had not pushed him into it, in an attempt to make the young man face something real.

Toward the end of McNaughton's lengthy scenario, we see how, in the official atmosphere, one can get cut off from the real world. In subsection "e," titled "Important miscellany," the Assistant Secretary of Defense noted that if American ground troops entered the Vietnam War, it would be difficult to withdraw them without admitting defeat. That "important miscellany" is still with us.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann from Paris

The French Taste

At the Comédie Francaise I see their 1144th performance of Beaumarchais' *The Marriage of Figaro*. It looks like the 10,444th. What a lot of circus horses plodding obediently around a ring. What abominable character-actor buffoonery, in the worst tradition of opera-house comedy. What spiritless gaiety. What a miscast Susanna (more regal than her mistress). What a charmless Figaro. If Figaro doesn't ingratiate, what the hell are we all doing there?

The only exception to the incompetence and the mere competence is Georges Descrières, who played the title role in Molière's *Dom Juan* in New York last year. Descrières, who looks like an elegant George C. Scott, is an actor of carriage and wit.

The tattiness of the French theater is proverbial, but this production, at what is supposedly France's first house, would disgrace the West Englewood High School Varsity Show. The designs are childish and the construction amateur. Every time – I repeat, every time – someone opens or closes a door, the entire room shakes. When scenery is changed between acts, a flap of cloth is left projecting in the join between two flats.

Ideally, repertory life is the best life for an actor, but I can't imagine a worse fate for an intelligent French actor than to be a lifelong member of the Comédie. (Some get trained there and escape – Jeanne Moreau, for instance.) The "museum" function of a repertory theater is invaluable, particularly in a country with a rich dramatic literature; but a good museum doesn't show its treasures under inches of dust.

Readers may remember my praise of Charles Denner, the leading actor of Chabrol's *Landru* and Jessua's *Life Upside Down*, two of the most unjustily neglected films of the '60s, in which Denner gave very different but equally beautiful performances. He may be recalled more readily as the artist in Truffaut's *The Bride Wore Black* and the friend of Montand in *Z* whom the opposition tries to run down with an automobile.

It's a disgrace to have to identify in this way (as I guess I must) an actor of Denner's quality. What he does and gives on the screen must come from somewhere and I've long been interested in learning more about him.

Denner looks much younger than his 45, is small, neatly built and graceful, with one of those unfruity yet musical voices that seem a French theater specialty. Yet he is not, originally, French. He was born in Poland and was brought to France in 1930 at the age of four. He hid out during the occupation – he's Jewish – and so far as he planned for the future, thought he might one day be a cantor in a synagogue. A man in the *maquis* took the young Denner's education in hand and told him to memorize Molière's *The Misanthrope*. Then, although he had never seen a play, he decided to become an actor. After the war he went to study with the renowned Charles Dullin, largely because he knew Jean-Louis Barrault had studied with Dullin, and Denner venerated Barrault's performance in *Children of Paradise*.

While with Dullin, Denner began working with a troupe of French-Jewish actors (The Companions of the Ark) in a political theater. In 1949 he was engaged by Jean Vilar and eventually played in Vilar's celebrated production of Brecht's *Arturo Ui*. Denner did the Goering role, with a red wig and lots of padding. When Chabrol came to make *Landru* he remembered Denner from that padded, bewigged role, and chose him.

He has been working in films since Malle's *Ascent to the Scaffold*, one of the early New Wave films, and to date has also done 130 plays and television appearances. When he speaks about acting, the term he uses over and over is "composition," in both the musical and painterly senses.

And how does film acting differ from theater acting for him? "In the theater I am naked. In films I am naked in a closed room."

Next day I see the marvelous Proust exhibit at the Musée Jacquemart-André, which includes – along with manuscripts and inscribed books and portraits and corrected galleys – Proust's deathbed and a deathbed photograph. Visconti is said to be planning a film of Proust's great work – alas, I have to add, since I've seen *Death in Venice*. Still it's being planned. One look at the later photographs and the deathbed photo and it's clear that Denner is the man for the protagonist.

André Perinetti is possibly the busiest theatrical producer in Paris and certainly the most adventurous. He runs three theaters in the huge Maison Internationale at the University of Paris and this past spring was so freighted that he also had to rent the Vieux Colombier, Copeau's old theater, for a fourth production. At the Maison he has an immense proscenium-stage theater, a large ballroom where the actors usually perform in the midst of the audience and another big room that can be used for untraditional productions. There is also a great hall built in Renaissance palazzo style, which is used for free jazz concerts. Perinetti, who somewhat resembles Albert Camus, smiles and says, "The paneling is good for the sound."

Although the Maison is under the rule of the university, it's not a university function. Funds for the productions come from the Ministry of Culture; the casts and directors are all professional and the audience includes many besides students. Perinetti himself directs only new plays – he reads scripts all the time and finds enough to keep his schedule filled – but there are always other directors doing other plays. His last show of the season, just closed, was Jean-Marie Patte's production of Genet's *The Maids* with an all-male cast.

Besides, Perinetti frequently presents visiting American companies: the Open Theater, the Living Theater, LaMama and others. He also produces translations of new American plays. Many of the names familiar from Off-off Broadway are on the posters on his office walls, with many black playwrights among them. The orientation of the theater is not rigidly political, but Perinetti is clearly addressed to contemporary relevance.

On the way to lunch we pass a large desk in the hall where material is being distributed by the French Communist Party. "That is our safety," Perinetti says with another smile. "A friend of mine was running a demo last month and he telephoned me, very happy, to say that the Communist Party would join the demo. I asked him why he was so happy, and he said, 'Now the police will not bother us.'"

At lunch he talks of the '68 troubles. The surface disturbances are over for the moment at least, he says, but '68 left a very deep mark on artists and intellec-

(continued on page 33)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Poets and Leaders

The Prison Diary of Ho Chi Minh Translated by Aileen Palmer

(Bantam; $1.25)

All good American schoolchildren are obliged to write at least one bad two-line something and call it *haiku*. They learn thus to count syllables, to search for punchy revelations in lily pads and perhaps, if they are really learned, to tie these activities in with the ancient Western phenomenon of Imagism. What they do not learn thereby is anything about poetry, Western or Eastern. Or so at least I have concluded after taking in my full teacher's quota of the student Orient.

Ho Chi Minh's *Prison Dairy* was written in verses (and in Chinese rather than Vietnamese) thirty years ago while Ho was a prisoner of Chiang Kai-shek. Haiku the verses are not, but related to haiku. They emerge in English as quatrains with mechanically five-stressed lines rendered the more mechanical by persistent half (or perhaps ⅛) rhymes, and they do remind me of student haiku, a connection that is not Ho's fault and perhaps not wholly the translator's fault but depressing anyway. And to think that Bantam is printing 500,000 for a starter.

The reader is better off, but not much, if he tries to forget that Ho's verses are verses and instead reads them prosaically as the record of an extraordinarily cruel experience in a great man's life. Ho was accused of being a spy: he was jailed, fed only one bowl of rice every meal, put in leg irons at night (or sometimes stroung up with rope), obliged to sleep without mattress or blankets, driven out to repair roads, robbed, deprived of tobacco, given no opportunity to bathe, and generally kicked and dragged about by petty officialdom for months. His testimony to these events would have been of interest if it had been written in the plainest prose. Unfortunately it was not so written; the poetry keeps showing, and showing with a labored infelicity that makes each quatrain look like the product of a cut rate Chinese-American rhetoric factory:

THE WATER RATION
Each of us has a ration of half a basin of water
For washing or brewing tea, according as each may choose:
If you want to wash your face, then you must go without brewing tea:
If you want a drink of tea, then you have to go without washing your face.

Or:

MOONLIGHT
For prisoners, there is no alcohol nor flowers,
But the night is so lovely, how can we celebrate it?
I go to the air-hole and stare up at the moon,
And through the air-hole the moon smiles at the poet.

Or perhaps instead of a labored balancing of lines there will be nothing but the plainest exposition in a quatrain, and it will come out as a four-line shaggy-dog tale that the reader thinks must have had *something* else going for it in the original or Ho wouldn't have bothered:

FROM LUNGAN TO TUNGCHUN JAIL
The land in this region is vast but very poor,
So the people are thrifty and industrious,
They are suffering this spring from a severe drought, we are told:
Only two or three tenths of the land can be sown for crops.

Or:

ON THE TRAIN TO LAEPING
After scores of days travelling wearily on foot
Today we board a train.
Although we have to sit on piles of charcoal
At least this is much better than having to walk!

Sharpen that up; take away the weak modifiers "monotonous" and "acute," the schmaltz of "pangs" and "far away," and the awkward tense switch; and it might be good. But it would still be wholly conventional thematically, just one more round of the nothing-to-lose-but-your-chains blues of which so

Dear Reader

Why don't you write you never
write each day I check the mail
nothing but truss ads and Christmas seals
Where are you what are you doing
tonight?
How are your teeth
when I brush mine blood
drips down my chin
Are you happy do you miss me
I will tell you
there is no-one like you
your eyes are unbelievable
your secrets are more interesting than anyone else's
you had an unhappy childhood
right?
I will rub your feet they're tired
I will say Hey
let's go to the movies
just the 2 of us

love

Peter Meinke

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

much of the book is composed. My point is not to deride the theme but put these verses in their appropriate political context and observe that Marx has been here. It is party-line stuff, sharpened by actual experience but still rootedly doctrinaire.

Ho became, after these writings, one of the great doctrine commissars of modern times, and presumably these verses are before us now because of his political eminence, not his blithe spirit; so we should not be surprised at the appearance of doctrine. But the point is that the book *is* being published as poetry; the labored quatrains that should have been rendered in prose are all sitting there lumpishly; and the poetic spirit not only of Ho but of the East itself in comparison with the materialist West is being affirmed somehow (in 500,000 copies). Many readers recalling their innocent haiku struggles will doubtless think of Ho as a dreamer, a maker of idylls, and put his verses squarely on the scene at American school exercises or state poetry society shindigs – for the rather conventional prettiness is frequently there in Ho as if he were poet laureate of a midwestern state – and they will miss the political roots of his conventionality, miss the point that Ho was wholly alien to our poetic tradition on most counts.

Ho lost a couple of rounds with me as I read this book. Beyond the duteous line-filling and the heavy balancings I sensed a deficiency of imagination, commonplaceness of thought that can never be wholly blamed on translation. Take for example the following quatrain, which seems to be basically one of the best in the book despite its English flabbiness:

TSINGMING FESTIVAL

On the day of the Tsingming Festival falls a monotonous drizzle.
The inmates of the prison felt the pangs of acute sadness.
Liberty, where are you?' we ask, and the warder points
To the official government residence far away.

Ironically, a *Russian* poet or novelist could not move into the big time in American publishing the Ho way at this point in history; he would instead have to produce a book notorious in the homeland for being anti-system and *un*doctrinaire. The Ho case thus appears an odd case in our cultural relationship with communists art and thought, a case in which we gobble up that which is essentially antithetical to our individualist tradition, and digest it perhaps without ever having known what it is.

The Vietnam war is largely the reason for the oddity – for Ho came to assume heroic stature even among his enemies – but the American romance with haiku has surely had something to do with it too. And with Ho now scheduled to jump forward as a student favorite it would seem to be time for oppressed teachers of haiku to dream up ways of distinguishing, for students and themselves, between old-time patrician Eastern literary figures like Li Po, with their many affectionate later Western admirers, and a modern Eastern revolutionary who also happens to mention the moon, mountains and fig trees. An interesting exercise, for example, would be in trying to demonstrate to a resistant Creative Writing class that the following poem by Ezra Pound was closer in spirit to Ho's enemy and imprisoner Chiang Kai-shek than to Ho:

EPITAPH

Fu I loved the high cloud and the hill,
Alas, he died of alcohol.

I doubt that Ho would have demonstrated much interest in an aesthete and sybarite who loved high clouds. Also the sudden deliberate bathos of the switch to alcohol, which is the poem's whole *raison d'etre*, is a bit too clever, too frivolous for Ho. Fu I's decadence, and the poet's benign amusement about it, would not have pleased Ho much; he would have adopted a more severe, chastising tone than EP's. Then too EP's poem is much sharper, more abrupt than Ho's verse; it presents its theme rather than talking about it (Pound's incessant poetic commandment), and as a result it is an excellent example of the sort of aestheticism modern Western writers have found so refreshing in Chinese literature, an abrupt, non-rhetorical handling of material that the doctrinaire political poet cannot afford to adopt. A political poet has to be more explicit – even to the point of banal sloganeering – about themes and morals if he is going to win a war, which is why Western poets never have won a war. Ho knew how to win a war and his verses show it.

One can of course argue that our poets with high-cloud tastes could learn something from Ho – learn, that is, to "make poems including iron and steel," but my point here is not that, not for or against iron and steel; it is merely that we should not confuse the high-cloud tradition with the other. What I fear is that 500,000 American high-cloud addicts will dutifully read Ho and *like* it, and then solemnly think to themselves that after all Ho was only writing the sort of thing Robert Frost might have written if *he* had been in prison. The next thought to that is, "What's wrong with us? Why is it that we cannot have poets as political leaders?" The question has no ready answer – and brings up all sorts of other unanswerable questions about our positivist lives – but certainly cannot be settled by the moral injunction, "come off the high cloud, bub." By Western standards the Ho verses must I think be adjudged to be bad verse despite or because of their romance with engagement. For better or worse the crucial separation in our culture between the aesthetic and the political will presumably continue.

Reed Whittemore

Out of the Shadow

The Trouble With Francis by Robert Francis

(U. of Massachusetts Press; $7.50)

Autobiographical writings are supposed to be spectacular these days, a thrill a page. I've just seen an ad in which X plugged Y's life story as follows: "This is not a book but a vital, throbbing human document. It moves forward and onward like a tidal wave, sparing nothing in its path, not a crumb, not a microbe." Well, maybe; I haven't read it. But I know that kind of thing won't do for the autobiography of Robert Francis. It *is* a book, and one that resists ad-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

jectives like "throbbing" and likenings to tidal waves. So do the books to which I think it invites comparison: *Walden*, Edwin Muir's *An Autobiography*, Nadezha Mandelstam's *Hope Against Hope*. Like them it uses one life, one set of experiences, as a way of investigating how an individual existence can gain coherence, shape, and meaning under social circumstances that are hostile or indifferent; and like them it succeeds through a scrupulous honesty that is especially wary of tidal waving. The books I have mentioned could be called low-key, but they all turn out to be engrossing and memorable; and there's a meaning for "vital" that X probably didn't intend: something that stays around, living with you and in you. *The Trouble With Francis* seems to me to have that kind of vitality.

Who is Robert Francis? He is a New England poet, just turned 70, who has lived most of his life in an elected and comparatively contented obscurity near Amherst, Massachusetts. Words like "recluse" and "hermit" do not really fit the man, but there can be no doubt that by most standards his life has been marked by solitude, and that his literary reputation, to those who know and admire his poems, is misleadingly slight. But the life and the work, as the autobiography reveals, make a curious fit, the obscurity of the one contributing to the neglect of the other, and the excellence of the poetry, it now appears, deriving in part from the originality, economy, and harmony of the life. For Francis, who has lived with astonishing frugality on the tiny income from his writing and occasional lecturing – his annual income for 1952 and 1953, respectively, was $489.80 and $502.23 – is a poet of retrenchment and modesty. His effects are controlled, exact, and sparse. And he celebrates – like Issa, like Robert Herrick, poets to whom he seems akin – the small in scale and the virtues of patience, tenacity, and quietness. He writes of toads, icicles, wasps, thistle seeds and tomatoes; and he can relish a single word – e.g. "hogwash" – as a bunting relishes a sunflower seed. Here's an example called "Bluejay:"

So bandit-eyed, so undovelike a bird
to be my pastoral father's favorite –
skulker and blusterer
whose every arrival is a raid.

Love made the bird no gentler
nor him who loved less gentle.
Still, still the wild blue feather
brings my mild father.

Compare that, in its precision, understatement, and delicate use of rhythm, sound, off-rhyme and metaphor, with what a "confessional" poet might do with the same subject, and you begin to get an idea both of why Francis has not been very fashionable and of the special rewards he offers his readers.

The structure of *The Trouble With Francis* is canny. Francis begins with the middle of his life, the time when his distinctive tendencies came to full realization in his decision to live alone in the country, and in his building (in 1940 and at a total cost of $1346.88) the small house, Fort Juniper, in which he has lived ever since, turtle in its shell, woodchuck in its burrow, junco in its nest. The book's design, besides affording a wry comparison to the epic, gives us the mature man, making firm decisions and wise choices about himself and others, before we are introduced to the child – sensitive, timid, beset with fears and incapable of the boisterousness and competition that are the norms of boyhood. Thus, while we eventually recognize that the child who was forced to become "a gazer and a brooder" was in some sense father to the man who is Robert Francis, we are protected from indulging in too much social or psychological determinism. Poets must find ways of protecting their unusual sensitivity, and solutions are many: drink, bluster, the armor of another profession, cruelty, a really good wife or husband, or even the recognition that there is no way to come to terms with certain situations in the self (Hart Crane) or the world around one (Mandelstam), a recognition that embraces self-destruction. Francis' *modus vivendi*, a withdrawal that afforded him an independence resembling Thoreau's at the same time that it cost him a measure of the prestige he might have had by mixing more vigorously in the world, is, as he sees it – and we are inclined to concur – neither heroic nor ludicrous, inevitable nor accidental. Around his account of it there plays a sense of the comic (a five-year-old girl drops in to visit and says "You've got to face life, Bob. You've *got* to face life.") that complements exactly Francis' natural pride in the way he turned his earlier terrors and failures into the achievement of his later years. Reigning over all is an honesty that keeps everything in check, even the modesty, and that is capable of startling: just as you have begun to admire Francis' courage, he warns you against it; just as your sympathy has begun to turn to pity, he dissolves the suffering with a wave of the hand. He is master of the show at all times, but not, you feel, so that he may conceal truth; rather as a way of unerringly revealing it.

Oddly enough, this unfashionable man whose celebratory and keenly joyous poems coexist, he confesses, with a deep-seated pessimism about the human condition, may now begin to find himself in fashion. For the ideals and principles he has lived by are much in the air these days, and lean, self-sufficient lives like his have a strong appeal to the young who reject the material affluence and spiritual poverty of our recent history. He'd have no wish to be our St. Francis of Amherst, but he has no way to resist our interest in "the art of living without money." That phrase precedes this list:

He does his own washing, ironing, and mending.
He gathers most of his firewood.
He prepares his own meals.
He eats neither meat, fish, nor fowl.
He grows some of his own food, or gathers it wild.
He walks to and from town, having no car.
He does without telephone service part of the year.
He spends no money on movies, plays, and concerts.
He subscribes to no magazines and buys almost no books.
He possesses no electric refrigerator, washing-machine, television set, cigarette-lighter, egg-poacher, or hair-curler.

The list was drawn up as an answer to appeals from charities.

Francis has lived for years in the shad-

MANUSCRIPTS INVITED FOR PUBLICATION
All subjects. Fiction, non-fiction, poetry. New authors welcome. For free Author's Guide to Publication, write to Dept. A.G.
DORRANCE & COMPANY
1809 Callowhill, Phila., Pa. 19130

"DEAR MR. BUCKLEY: *I had a subscription coming to me regularly until September of last year. At that time I escaped from New Jersey State Prison at Rahway and I heard that you ran an article asking where I was. Well I would like to inform the folks at your mailing office that I am once again here at the prison but I'm not happy about it. Sincerely, Harry W. Ackerman.*" nr

For a free copy of NATIONAL REVIEW, write: Dept. K, 150 E. 35 Street, N. Y. 10016.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cornell University Press

Were they naive dupes? Or conspirators? Or something in between?

Americans and Chinese Communists, 1927-1945

A Persuading Encounter

By Kenneth E. Shewmaker

"A fascinating and instructive review of the once-friendly relations between some American writers, journalists, and military observers and the Chinese Communists. . . . Shewmaker . . . discusses and analyzes what he considers the sentimental and uncritical impressions and views of Vincent Sheean, Agnes Smedley and Earl Browder; the far more objective reporting of Edgar Snow; Hemingway, who was almost alone in being unimpressed; John Gunther, Brooks Atkinson, Theodore H. White, and others. A leading figure in this timely study is Evans Carlson."—*Publishers' Weekly*

Many of the individuals discussed became targets of the "Communist conspiracy" charges of the 1950's, and Mr. Shewmaker shows that the conspiracy thesis is wholly inadequate to deal with complex Sino-American contacts. On the other hand, he criticizes as oversimple the image of Communists as "agrarian reformers" that was prevalent during the 1930's and 1940's.

380 pages, 8 pages illustrations, 1 map. $10.00

Cornell University Press
ITHACA and LONDON

ow of Frost, who influenced his work, encouraged him at an early stage, dropped in for one-way conversations, and whose magnetism and presence Francis must at times have wished for himself: "He could speak to any man in that man's language and on that man's terms, be he banker, merchant, farmer, senator, college president, or U. S. President. . . .his power was not in spite of being a poet but because of it. . . .poems no one could dismiss or laugh aside." Let me take a position here and say that I hope Francis can come out of that shadow. I like his work not for the way it resembles Frost's, but for the way in which it is different; and I feel the same way about the man. I can't imagine Frost writing a book about himself this good, this true, this wise.

But I should not rob Frost to pay Francis. My mission is simpler: to recommend *The Trouble With Francis* unreservedly, and to point out that its natural companion volume is his new and selected poems, *Come Out Into the Sun.* Both are published by the University of Massachusetts Press, and together they come to less than $10, a Franciscan bargain. I submit that the reader who undertakes either or both of them will have no trouble with Francis.

David Young

A New Surge of Daring

Now is the Time: A New Populist Call to Action by Fred R. Harris

(McGraw-Hill; $6.95)

At the age of 40 Fred Harris is the senior Senator from Oklahoma and has been a member of that body since 1964. In 1969 he became Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, survived that post and now is contemplating a run for the presidency. He is a genuine populist, the son of an Oklahoma sharecropper, a man never far removed from the prejudices and fear of penury that hover over huge segments of the population. Very few people combine his inner-discipline and toughness with a compassion for all people. The young, the blacks, the Indians, the intellectuals and inner city policymakers are his concern, but so are the hardhats and the rednecks.

The theme of *Now is the Time* is stated very succinctly in his first chapter on the New Populism: "there simply cannot be a mass movement without the masses." He belives that "today's problems are awesome and cleverness will not suffice. We still have an opportunity to save our environment and ourselves. We still have a chance, for instance, to show that men can live together on this globe, or in this country, or even in one city, as fellow members of the same human family. The greatness is in us; it must be called out by leaders who can help us see ourselves as we might be and can inspire America to get its priorities straight and do what needs to be done."

The populist tradition developed around the turn of the century when people began to question for the first time the concentration of power in America, the "Robber Barons" philosophy of growth, and began to demand their second bowl of porridge. In 1971 when most people in high positions of the government seem uncertain of their own relevance and often overwhelmed with a sense of futility, Harris is challenging liberals with whom he frequently votes – and sympathetic conservatives too – to face the tough power issues with more than polite nods toward reform.

His bluntest attack is reserved for the strategy outlined by Kevin Phillips in 1969 in his book, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, otherwise known as the Southern strategy. Harris believes that the Southern strategy, which es-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sentially calls for holding the line on segregation and urban squalor, is not only false but unwise, even in terms of the Republican Party, and he sees a bright future for progressive Republicanism. Of the Southern strategy he notes, "We don't only need someone to tell us what we look like when we are at our worst, we need someone to help us see what we can be when we are at our best. That is what is most wrong with the Phillips doctrine and anything like it; it is immoral—no party can turn its back on black people or the problems of central cities; no party can refuse to stand up for the poor and hungry without calling into serious question its reason for existing as a political party."

Harris argues convincingly that a populist coalition for progress can be established in America. He outlines the major reform issues and the fundamental defects that made the 1968 Convention the travesty it seemed to so many people. He talks about the "manifestly unfair, undemocratic practices in the delegate-selection process" and summarizes the hearings held by the McGovern Commission, which he helped set in motion the same day he was elected Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Reform, he feels, "must become reality because if the Democratic Party is to remain the majority party, it must demonstrate to those essential to its coalition that the processes by which the party nominates for the Presidency and makes all its other decisions not only allow but also encourage the widest involvement by them."

This is the first time in years that a political figure has attempted to bring populism back into the political dialogue. Except for Wright Patman of Texas and a few others, the populist tradition is largely ignored in Washington. The need is great, and one wishes that Harris had gone a step further and actually developed a *platform* for a populist alternative in America, one that would force the Democratic Party to abandon its connections with the same established financial forces that fuel the Republican Party. The frightening cost of campaigns—which forces both parties to play the industrial-military complex game—would be one major area of populist reform. There should be and could be a "peoples" candidate capable of drawing millions of dollars in small donations from the citizens of this country, citizens who would demand changes in health insurance and consumer exploitation, and would fight for a restructuring of national priorities.

Harris has launched his own word boat to "confront the interests in the name of the people . . . on a whole range of important issues . . . from non-nutritional bread and breakfast cereals to high interest rates," but he needs now to carry or advance his views beyond the talking stage. He believes we "can be caught up in a new surge of daring," and he may well prove to be one of the leaders in the surge.

William F. Claire

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

WILLIAM F. CLAIRE *is founding editor and publisher of* Voyages: A National Literary Magazine. PETER MEINKE *teaches literature at Florida Presbyterian College.* DAVID YOUNG *teaches at Oberlin and is editor of the poetry magazine* Field.

Correspondence

Criteria for Housing

Sirs:

Robert Cassidy's article, "Government in the Suburbs; Housing Black Workers" (July 17, 1971) is very timely. I would, however, like to add a footnote. Mr. Cassidy cited the General Services Administrator's representation that "GSA was working with . . . blacks in Brookhaven, LI to assure that the housing guidelines will be carried out for the new Internal Revenue Service facility that will be located in the area." In no substantive way is this true, certainly not if "working with" be taken to mean collaboration of some sort.

Over a year ago, blacks and concerned whites in Brookhaven formed a coalition around the issue of suitable low and moderate income housing construction as a prerequisite to locating the IRS facility in the town. GSA's position has been very low profile indeed. Thanks to enterprising reporting throughout by local *Newsday*, it's now clearly on the public record both that GSA made no attempt to ascertain whether suitable low and moderate income housing was available in Brookhaven *and* has no

In the storm of controversy boiling around the Pentagon Papers, "he comes out like the one sane man in a madhouse."*

GEORGE W. BALL
Former Undersecretary of State and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, author of
THE DISCIPLINE OF POWER
Essentials of a Modern World Structure

N.Y. POST PHOTO BY McCARTEN, ©1968, N.Y. POST CORP.

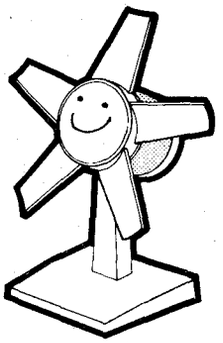
"And Undersecretary of State George Ball (who comes out of the thing like the one sane man in a madhouse) urging the government to 'cut its costs' and get out. Nobody listened."
*—TRB, The New Republic**

"An important book that comes at a critical moment... In the debate over the direction of our American policy, it is as relevant as today's headlines."
—Marquis Childs

"His intellectual depth, his broad grasp of history, and the vitality of his performance near the pinnacle of power leap from the pages of this incisive volume."*—Robert Kleiman, N.Y. Times Book Review*

An Atlantic Monthly Press Book
$7.50 at your bookstore, or from
Little, Brown and Company
34 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02106

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



little blow hard...

is what irreverent, but delighted customers call our new Designer's Fan. Only 7" tall (6" across blades) this beautifully designed Italian import moves an astonishing amount of air. Solid, hi-impact plastic body. Extra-soft blades can't hurt baby or pet! Use it on table or wall. Noiseless, 110v motor runs continuously without heating. If this fan can keep things cool in sunny Italy, just think what it can do for you here at home or in your office.

☐ **Send me the Designer's Fan. I encl. $13.95 ($12.95 plus $1 post. & ins.) 1 year written Guarantee. (Calif. resid. add tax.)**

Name_____

Address_____

_____ **Zip**_____

haverhill's

584 Washington, San Francisco 94111

NR 0807

CHRISTMAS CARDS

☆ The new catalogue of the famous Museum Christmas cards—an unparalleled selection of paintings, drawings, stained glass, sculpture, goldsmiths' work, frescoes and graphics ranging across fifty centuries. ☆ Unusual Museum Christmas presents include exact copies of ancient jewelry in gold and silver, sculpture, rare early American glass, and the new engagement calendar, *Parlors & Palaces*, and the address book, *Flowers for All Seasons*. The cards are priced from 10 to 35 cents; the Christmas presents from $2.50 to $150. They are made especially for the Museum and can be bought *only* by mail or at the Museum itself. Send the coupon below to reserve your copy of the 56-page color catalogue to be mailed about September first.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

255 Gracie Station, New York 10028

Please send me the Museum's new catalogue of Christmas cards, 25 cents enclosed L5

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

_____ ZIP_____

intentions of seeing to it that such housing is forthcoming.

Mr. Cassidy notes that criteria for such housing is generally "vague." With regard to Brookhaven, there is no vagueness at all. Reading of the current Long Island Master Plan of the Nassau-Suffolk Regional Planning Board makes plain that 4500 low and moderate income units are needed immediately in Brookhaven and surrounding environs. HUD least of all should find vagueness here, since its funds have gone to the Planning Board.

Nevertheless, GSA has broken ground on the IRS facility and appears to be progressing at breakneck pace, having already downgraded the provision of suitable housing, again reported in *Newsday*, as but one in 50 criteria *(sic)* for such a project. The Brookhaven Town Board has given the zoning go-ahead to a private developer who projects construction of 400 or so apartment units under FHA mortgage interest subsidies. But the original housing coalition remains quite skeptical about this development's really being built and, if it is, knows for a certainty that only a token will be helped, given needs cited above.

GSA has located a giant IRS facility, which will provide thousands of very low paying jobs, in an area where the fullest possible documentation exists to show that there is not and will not be suitable housing for families of persons holding those jobs. With this the specific outcome of the voluntary arrangements Mr. Cassidy described, one must say that the case for coercive federal legislation is very strong.

Ronald J. Stone
Patchogue, L.I., N.Y.

Sirs:

As President of an organization struggling to break down barriers in housing, I wish to second the points raised by Robert Cassidy in his article on "Housing Black Workers" (NR, July 17, 1971).

It is now generally accepted that the Federal government plays an important part in establishing housing patterns in the country but it is not so generally known what that part has been. Much publicity is given to the fine-sounding rhetoric of promises that HUD and GSA have given to "develop an affirmative action program to assure federal personnel access to low- and moderate-income housing on a nondiscriminatory basis." Few Americans, on the other hand, ever hear of such disasters as HEW's move to Rockville in Montgomery County, Maryland, a move made without any provision for housing people or transporting them. The office staff of Suburban Maryland Fair Housing can attest to the difficulty some Black employees who tried to stay with the agency encountered when looking for housing. These difficulties are magnified when service personnel and blue-collar workers are involved because of inflated housing costs in Montgomery County.

Peg McRory
Bethesda, Md.

Public Utilities

Sirs:

Pacific Telephone is not the only beneficiary of the California Public Utility Commission's favorable graces. As soon as Reagan's appointees gained control of the PUC on January 1, 1969, they bestowed upon the Southern California Gas Company the first of fourteen (14) straight rate increases, the latest occurring on May 31, 1971.

The disdain shown for the public welfare is exemplified by the conduct of PUC chairman J. K. Vukasin, who recently proposed hearing procedures which would have made it impossible for a member of the public to testify without his lawyer present. Obviously, very few average citizens would be able to avail themselves of this "opportunity."

Joseph Posner
Los Angeles, California

Sirs:

After reading your July 17 issue, I am somewhat confused about your attitude towards co-ops. On Page 11 in the article on "Cutting Down Ma Bell" you

To Our Readers

Single copy reprints of Robert Brustein's review of "Lenny" are available on request: Box NR4975 The New Republic 1244 19th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

propose divesting Western Electric and other operating subsidiaries from A.T. & T and operating at least one as a co-op "to provide some yardstick competition." A few pages later in the article "Milking the Consumer," The American Milk Producers Institute is cited as a federation of dozens of milk cooperatives which "wants higher prices every year." Is this the yardstick you had in mind?

George G. Kaufman
Eugene, Oregon

TRB

Sirs,
I have long been meaning to congratulate your magazine for TRB's columns. As political commentaries they are wise and penetrating, as literature they are unexcelled for clarity, humanity and charm. The satire on Attorney General Mitchell was devastating without being either exaggerated or malicious. And as for the column called "Pilgrimage," I found it as graceful and moving as anything E.B. White or Thornton Wilder has done.

David L. Graham
Augusta, Maine

Kill the Kilowatt?

Sirs:
Could Mr. Lapp please provide an explanation of why he dismisses one of the most urgent environmental problems by saying merely "Obiously, it's an economic and political impossibility to stop power growth, . . .?" (*NR*, June 26, 1971)

The real question is the desirability, not the ease, of stopping power growth; Mr. Lapp seems unwilling to consider this.

David Policansky
Eugene, Ore.

In reply . . .
No, I'm not unwilling to consider curtailing the kilowatt and copping out on the Btu, but before disconnecting the economy from the vital fluid of power, the real question is not the desirability of such action but its necessity. The assumption many power opponents make is that more power means more pollution; the challenge to technology (and to the private enterprise system) is to use fuel resources prudently and with minimum eco-impact.

But if one assumes that zero power growth is desirable, then it's essential to assess the economic consequences and their political compatibility. Who decides who gets power and how much? What's a democratically equitable way to deal with the air conditioning problem? Will Mayor Lindsay ban the sale of air conditioners in New York? (I suspect a lively black market will smuggle them into Manhattan.) Will the Governor of Maryland risk stagnating his state's economic growth? What happens to the construction business when a builder is refused a gas connection to a new house? Will Detroit fission its V-8 into a 4-cylinder model? If Detroit is Volkswagenized, this could reduce new car sales by $15 billion per year with a ripple fire effect on the $55 billion per year gas-tire-insurance-repair business associated with America's rubber-tired mobility.

When the economists show how we can produce less and consume less while generating more tax money to fight the problems of pollution, I shall join the crusade to kill the kilowatt. Meanwhile, I shall push for clean energy and the formulation of a national energy policy designed to conserve fossil fuel resources.

RALPH E. LAPP

Kauffmann, *from page 26*

tuals. He instances Truffaut and Godard; the former became more conventional, the latter more radical. He says that the dividing line cuts through all the arts.

At the old Billancourt studios on the edge of Paris I watch Alain Delon do a scene in a new thriller he's making. About six takes of a solo silent scene with a gun, which the director is evidently trying to enliven with some fast dollying in and out.

In the corridor outside I meet Delon's costar Simone Signoret, and we are conversing in English when along comes a king, with his court in attendance: Jean Gabin and retinue. Shorter than I had expected, white-haired, portly – still Jean Gabin. Signoret introduces us and I ask him whether he understands English. He glances at her – a private joke, obviously – then grins at me and says, "Sunnyside up."

BOOK COLLECTORS!
Our worldwide contacts help build your collection. All fields, A to Izzard.
Book Landman
1615 Montana, Santa Monica, California 90403

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER
Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 516 West 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001.

Personals

WOULD LIKE TO START letter-writing group. Hopkins, 1050 Dakin, Chicago, 60613.

WIN ANY WOMAN with NEW scientific psychologic technique. Your success is 100% GUARANTEED ,2.00 Psycho-Dynamics Box 3644, Rochester, N.Y. 14609

COLORTRIPS coloring book. Funtastic designs to keep the kids quiet. Adults too. Fine gift for bedridden. Only $1.25. BDMQ Studios, Box 43, Port Hueneme, California 93041.

"MCGOVERN IN '72—Buttons: Four for a dollar. Write to University of Wisconsin Students for McGovern in '72, 731 State Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53073

PROTECT YOUR HOME or business. 5 large stickers: "Beware of Dog." Send $1 postpaid to Choice Labels, P.O. Box 17001, Cincinnati, Ohio, 45217

DO YOU LIKE top grade name-imprinted stationery? Send 25¢ for big, idea-packed sample assortment. Shows beautiful rainbow colors, unusual type faces. Social-professional uses. JACQUES, Room 1N, 328 East 25th, New York, N.Y. 10010.

INSTANT SUPERIORITY – International Puzzle Club's confidential handbook boosts morale, perception, thinkability. Summertimembership $1. DR, Box 241, Laguna Beach, California.

TRANSFORM THE LIFE of an underprivileged American Indian school boy or girl with your friendship and financial assistance. F.F.C. or telephone 301-652-0536

DUMP NIXON BUMPER STRIPS – 2/$1. W. Stacey, New Republic Box 4955

BEAUTIFUL OVERLOOKED LAND BARGAINS. Government acreage from $25 – Exciting facts $1.00, LANDSEARCH, Box FD-3, Belmont, California 94002

DELIGHTFUL, EDUCATIONAL VACATIONING. Fasting. Reducing. Rejuvenation. Health Education. Peaceful surroundings. Cooperative employment available. SHANGRI-LA, Bonita Springs, Florida 33923 – NR

MEDITATION? Practice invokes knowledge, evokes insight. First year bimonthly training course free. Write MEDITATIONS, P.O. Box 556N, Ojai, California 93023.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH. $10.00 and sample to Elisabeth King, 41 E. 29th St., New York 10016.

KODACOLOR PRICE-BREAKOUT – Perfect prints, 8 or 12-shot rolls, $2; 20-shot rolls, $3; 36-shot rolls, $5. Money-back guarantee. We pay postage both ways! Send $$ and film; write for mailer. Mystic Color Lab, Box R-144, Mystic, Conn. 06355

MUSKIE 72, bumperstickers 4/$1.00, buttons 5/$1.00. MUSKIE, 375 Buena Vista, Bridgeport, Conn. 06604.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1½'x2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.

WOULD YOU INVEST $1.00 to know *what* truth *is*?

Eventually every informed person who wants to know the 'truth' about our social mess, and HOW TO CORRECT IT – will have to come to TRUTHOLOGY. For a "formula for truth" copy and an introduction to a new science that can insure social stability – send $1.00 to Truthology, 619 Central ave. Albany, N.Y. 12206

TRANSLATIONS, any language. Michael Pilorget, 3915 Foster Street, Flint, Michigan 48505.

WHAT'S UP DOWN UNDER – Clearest, most complete, accurate and up-to-date Australia information package, $1.50. Information Bureau Publications, 213 Garden Road, Towson, Md. 21204.

SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalogue free. Autosuggestion, Box 24 – NR, Olympia, Washington.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS *without exception.* The right of each adult human to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law, without exception. – AAAL, P.O. Box 36122, Los Angeles 00036.

BRAINWAVE FEEDBACK Electroencephalophone. Information 10¢ J&J Enterprises, 8102-R, Bainbridge, Wash. 98110.

WITCH OR WARLOCK? Series of tests and experiments to measure and develop witchcraft abilities on exciting two-record album; BARBARA, THE GRAY WITCH – $9.95 DEA Records-A, PO Box 69249 Los Angeles, California 90069

VERMONT SUMMER ARTS CENTER, formerly at Goddard College, now at Lyndon State College, June 27-August 21. Chamber music, visual arts, crafts, dance. Find old friends and new in Vermont hills. Write: Bluma Jacobs, Director, Lyndon State College, Lyndonville, Vermont 05851.

PUT ANTI-POLLUTION PUNCHES INTO YOUR CORRESPONDENCE with our Anti-Pol Rubber Stamp Pak. Four stamps $3.00. Quantity discount list included. Spectrum Rubber Stamps, 1619 Pineview Rd., Charleston, South Carolina 20407.

HARPSICHORDS AND CLAVICHORDS – New Flemish Harpsichord, curved bentside, uncompromising classic construction and detail, $295. Other kits from $100. Send for free brochure. Zuckermann Harpsichords, Inc. Dept. P. 160 Sixth Avenue, New York 10013

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will forms and attorney's information book. $1.50. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1830 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

Peace Personals

POSTERS (over 300, many anti-war) BUTTONS (over 175) PATCHES, BUMPERSTICKERS & other peace items. Wholesale & retail. Catalogue with pictures 25¢ (refund 1st order). A BIG LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission St., San Francisco, 94103.

"McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT" Bumperstickers, 5/$1; Buttons, 4/$1; Matchbooks, 50/$1; Emery Boards, 10/$1. McGovern Products, Box 10002, Kansas City, Missouri 64111.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS, Low-cost, custom made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Please state intended use for appropriate samples. Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 8551 Page Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63114. Phone (314) 423-5495.

Literature

THE HUMANIST MANIFESTO. Victory strategy for '72. America needs this book! Send $2.25. Cypress House, Box 217, Miami, Florida, 33156.

UNUSUAL BOOKS on many subject at unusual prices. List Free. Action Books, 5146 N. Clark, Chicago 60640.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF OPEN EDUCATION (Barth & Rathbone) 64 pages, annotated, 265 entries. $1.25 prepaid. Advisory for Open Education, 90 Sherman, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02140 Free catalog.

DRUGS OF ABUSE HANDBOOK. Valid, unbiased. Only 50¢. Write STASH, Dept. P, Beloit, Wisconsin 53511.

1970 (6th Edition) Small Magazine/Press Directory – $2.50/copy; $8.00/4-year subscription. DUST-books, R.2, 5218 Scottwood Road, Paradise, California 95969.

BEST BOOKFINDERS IN NEW YORK: ORSAY BOOKS, 86-32 N. Eliot Ave., Rego Park, New York City 11374.

BACK DATE MAGAZINES: Send needs. Midtown Box 917-NR, Maywood, New Jersey 07607.

Authors

ESTABLISHED AUTHOR of 10 books, biography, juvenile, novel etc., two book club selections will read and offer constructive criticism of new authors manuscripts. Fee $50 with mss. Dawn Langley Simmons, 15 Thomas Street, Charleston, S.C., 29403. Telephone 803-577-2197.

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors: publicity, advertising, promotion, beautiful books. All subjects invited. Send for free manuscript report and detailed booklet. Carlton Press, Dept. RZT 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

PROFESSIONAL EDITOR-WRITER will analyze and/or revise fiction – non-fiction. Market Ideas, N. Crandall, New Republic, Box #4735.

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphicopy, Box 285R, Floral Park, N.Y. 11001.

WRITERS – "UNSALABLE" BOOK MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

Schools

TROUBLED AND TROUBLING CHILDREN, ages 10-18. Competence, confidence restored. Warm, supportive, therapeutic learning environment. Individual tutoring. Mountain valley setting. Mulberry Farm School. Pettigrew, Arkansas 72752, 501-292-3329.

HEIFER HILL SCHOOL, humanistic, coed, ages 12 through 16. Program integrates work, study, travel. Farm setting, small enrollment. R#2 Box 196A, Brattleboro, Vermont 05301

COLLEGE ADMISSIONS AND TRANSFERS – Specializing in difficult cases – undergraduates, college transfers, medical, law, veterinarian, graduate, dental. College Admissions Center of N.Y. 102-30 Queens Boulevard, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375 or call "Richard Collins" 212-BR5-2900

Camps

SUMMERHILL CAMP AND SCHOOL. Freedom with responsibility, learning because it's exciting, not compulsory. Summer program: reading, math, nature, swimming, riding, camping, art, music, drama, group discussion. OPEN COMMUNITY SCHOOL, Box 5R, Claverack, N.Y. 12513.

Foreign Studies

MEET RUSSIANS FACE-TO-FACE in USSR. 3 Wk., non-political exchange visits depart Aug. 3, August 24. Qualified Americans, all ages, occupations. Citizen Exchange Corps Dept. NR 7/71 10 W. 46th St. NYC 581-8113

Employment Wanted

YOUNG MAN seeks work for social change. Experience: nonprofit agency administration, writing, editing, research, fundraising, community organizing. Alan Swenson, 60 Brookdale Gardens, Bloomfield, N.J. 07003.

EXPERIENCED YOUNG ARMY PHOTOGRAPHER returning from Vietnam seeks challenging work in documentary, news, commercial filming 16mm mopic double system sound filming. Available in September, New Republic Box 4915.

Employment Opportunities

WORK IN DEVELOPING MEXICO. Rapid advancement, negligible taxes, inexpensive entertainment, pleasant living, peace. List of 200 United States, international, Mexican companies. Immigration procedure. $4.00 Infomex, NR 8771, Box 366, Berea, Ohio 44017.

HIGHER EDUCATION; SECONDARY EDUCATION; SOCIAL - ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. New approach. Comprehensive. Current, Nationwide. Directories of Positions. All fields. Write Intercept-Sociocom, Box 317, Harvard Square P.O., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

BOOMING AUSTRALIA NEEDS YOU – New 1971 Australian Handbook describing free passage, employment opportunities, business, farming, teaching etc. $1.00. Employment directories: Australian businesses $1.00. U.S. businesses there $1.00. All three $2.00 (550 employers listed.) Buckeye, Box 1032NR Fairborn, Ohio 45324.

EUROPEAN – FOREIGN EMPLOYMENT – Detailed report on currently available jobs – Europe, Australia, Africa, $3.00. Eurojob Report, Box 52643 – P, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU!!! Government Assisted Passage. 1971 Government Information and Forms – Most Complete Information Available – $1.00. Reports on Employment, Business, Taxes, Education, Teaching, Housing, Ranching, Maps, etc. AUSTCO Box 3623-EE Long Beach, California 90803.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new booklet covers all possibilities, sixty countries. Includes exclusive "Directory of 200 American Companies Overseas" and special reports on summer jobs, government careers, international organizations, teaching, librarian, secretarial, newspaper, medical and social work overseas. $2.00. Satisfaction guaranteed or payment refunded. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York 11730.

JOBS! OVERSEAS-U.S.A. Year-round and Summer Jobs. Jobs with Money, Challenge, Opportunity, Travel. All occupations and trades. Write: JOBSCOPE, Box 746, NR, Woodbridge, California 95258.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Box 942-N, Belmont, California 94002.

Property-Sale/Rent

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA – ON LOVELY LARGE STREAM. Beautiful two-acre forested parcels. A unique plan, very small, private, with natural beauty preserved by restrictions. Excellent riding, swimming, fishing and dramatic mountain view. Year around paved access. No bulldozers, costly promotion or hard sell. Sierras, between Almanor and Antelope Lakes. Write owner, H. Page, Taylorsville California.

GOVERNMENT LANDS . . . Low as $3.50 Acre! Vacationing, Homesteading, Investment! Exclusive "Government Land Buyer's Guide" . . . plus "Land Opportunity Review" listing lands available throughout U.S., send $1.00. Surplus Lands, Box 19107-SM, Washington, D.C. 20036.

MOVING TO CLEVELAND? For a refreshing experience in modern suburban living, The Shaker Communities offer: A nationally recognized school system; superior municipal services; year-round recreation programs; nearness to Greater Cleveland's cultural-education center and to downtown; fine shopping centers; forward looking, integrated communities. Contact The Shaker Communities, 16800 Chagrin Blvd., Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120. (216) 751-2155.

Greenery

BONSAI: ZELKOVA NIRE, WIRED, POTTED (CLAY), $25.00, plus $3.00 shipping. Illustrated catalogue 25¢. SAKASHIMAYA, Grahamsville, New York 12740.

BONSAI (DWARF) TREES. America's oldest growers of aged Bonsai. Free catalogue. HEIROB BONSAI NURSERY, Hampton, Livingston Manor, New York 12758.

Vacations/Travel

RELAX THIS SUMMER in gorgeous Colorado mountain resort. Horses, pack trips, hiking trails, heated pool, tennis courts, trout fishing, spacious lodge and dining hall. Family cabins, all meals provided. Rustic and informal, good conversation. RAINBOW TROUT LODGES, Antonito, Colorado 81120.

PUERTO RICO BEACH HOUSE—Costa Azul at Luquillo, 3 bedrooms, yard, terraces. Fully equipped kitchen, linens, washing machine. Comfortable, private, convenient to other resort areas. For rent weekly. Edward Pinney, 21 E. 66 Street, New York, New York 10021.

AUTO BABYSITTERS. INDOOR parking. Rates LOWER than outdoor airport/pier parking. Pick-up/delivery. Branches throughout NYC, Savoy Garages, 827 Sterling Place, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11216 (212) 493-9800.

Subscribe to TRAVLTIPS FREIGHTER BULLETIN for exciting travel bargains. $7.50 year. 40-21, JGI, Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361

CHARTER FLIGHT HANDBOOK, 1,100 organization named. Particulars free. TIB, P.O. Box 105n, Kings Park, N.Y. 11754.

Cookery

WINEMAKING KIT . . . $4.98. Free recipes – Catalog. JIMDANDY, Box 30230-XX, Cincinnati, Ohio 45230.

BURNED RICE. Salty soup. Bland stew. Fallen cakes. Mushy cauliflower. Now, the first cookbook ever devoted to correcting mistakes like these, and hundreds more. "The Something Went Wrong Cookbook" published by Harcourt Brace. "Should be in every kitchen." – Bon Appetit Magazine. "Crammed with useful information." – Library Journal. $6 postpaid from Hercules Association, Box 9, Hercules, California 94547. Money back guarantee.

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 18, 799 Broadway, NYC 10003.

Arts & Crafts

Have a peaceful summer by lighting up beautiful *HANDMADE* candles.
CANDLE POT: Scented candle in an exquisite hand-thrown stoneware pot.
STROBE CANDLE: It's fun to watch twisting or whirling while candle burns. Guaranteed to strobe. 7" x 1½" w/1' stick.
T. Hunkins, 1021 R St., Sacramento, Ca. 95814

Candle pot reg. @ $4.00
lidded @ 6.45
Strobe candle 2 for $2.35

Send check or money order only. (Calif. residents add 5% sales tax please).

Name_____
Address_____
City_____
State_____ Zip_____
PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Box 28F, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

MACRAME KITS. Easily learn ART OF CREATIVE KNOTTING. KITS contain everything needed to quickly create driftwood-mounted WALL HANGING; white TIE BELT, choice of bead colors; SPIRAL NECKLACE, white, navy or light blue cord, color-coordinated beads. INCLUDES step-by-step illustrated instructions, precut cord, deluxe wooden beads, working board, T-pins. State KIT, COLOR preferences. $3.99 each. Three $10.99 POSTPAID. No COD. MEnterprises, PO Box 344, Temple City, California 91780

ANNUAL OLD MASTER EXHIBITION/SALE: July 19th thru August 6th. More than 300 prints from 15th to 17th centuries. From $10. Many rare prints especially Durer and Rembrandt. Listing available. ASSOCIATED AMERICAN ARTISTS, Studio 6, 663 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10022.

LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro. Reasonable. Illustrated catalogue. 50¢. George Kirschner, 90-59 56 Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373.

APPALACHIAN QUILTS, a quality product, from $25.00 and up. Write Pike County Citizens Association, Box 10, Hellier, Kentucky 41534.

"GETTING STARTED IN STAINED GLASS" 25c. Whittemore, Box 2065PP, Hanover, Massachusetts 02339.

Sports Equipment

LIGHTWEIGHT BACKPACK AND MOUNTAINEERING EQUIPMENT. Imported, Domestic Canoes and Kayaks for day trips, voyageuring, or white-water. Free catalog. MOOR & MOUNTAIN, Dept. 44, Main St., Concord, Mass. 07142.

Records/Tapes

FREE 64 PAGE CATALOG Offers hundreds of recordings of rare Renaissance Baroque and Classical music. Introductory records as low as $1.00 each! All late recordings. In Stereo only. MHS Records, Box 932-NR, New York 10023.

Music

KITS: Build dulcimers, guitars, balalaikas, thumb pianos, harps. From $2.95. Finished dulcimers from $19.95. 866 West 13th Avenue, Denver, Colorado 80215.

BURTON HARPSICHORDS—Professional instrument in kit form, Burton Jacks (patented) $195.00 to $650.00. Write Herbert W. Burton, 917 "O" Street, Box 80222 (N), Lincoln, Nebraska 68501.

EASY TO PLAY AND MAKE instruments. Thumb Pianos $10, kit $5; Dulcimers now $45 up, kits $18 up; Psalteries, Banjos; Dulcimer book, record; HERE, INC., #N, Box 341, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440.

B.W.M. BENN HARPSICHORDS, finest custom; clavichords, spinets, 4424 Judson, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55435

HARPSICHORDS with the most beautiful sound, from North America's leading makers. For catalog send 25¢ to: SABATHIL & SON, Dept. 2, 1084 Homer, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

APPALACHIAN DULCIMERS – Handmade. From $40.00. Instructions. Max Wilson, Rt 3, Paoli, Indiana.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) . . . . . 60¢
Per word 6 times in one contract year . . . . . 55¢
Per word 12 times in one contract year . . . . . 50¢
Per word 24 times in one contract year . . . 45¢
Per word 48 times in one contract year . . . 40¢

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

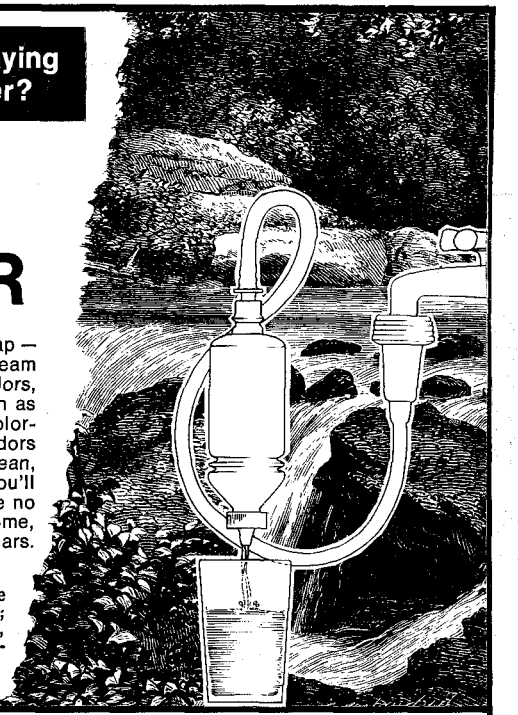
Printed by Merkle Press, Inc. Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Afraid to drink the water from your faucet? But furious at paying 69¢ . . . 89¢ . . . even $1 per gallon or more for bottled water?

Pollutant-Zero

Laboratory-Tested WATER PURIFIER



Never buy bottled water again! Enjoy the taste of fresh spring water right from your tap — for as little as 2¢ per gallon. Fits any standard kitchen faucet. Like a clear mountain stream bubbling merrily through your home. Every drop nature fresh. No more unpleasant odors, funny tastes, colors, particles. Removes pesticides and other chemical contaminants such as fluorides, phenols and chlorophenols, chlorinated and aromatic hydrocarbons, most color-producing chemicals such as insoluble iron (i.e., rust), chlorine, suspended particles, odors and other tap water pollutants. POLLUTANT-ZERO gives you fresh clear water — clean, healthful, sparkling and delicious. You'll rediscover the joy of tea, iced drinks, coffee. You'll feel less guilty when preparing baby formula, cooking meals, watering plants (poisons are no better for their health than yours!), etc. Compact and completely portable — ideal for home, office, camping, boating. Unit (except renewable filter, of course) guaranteed for 10 years. **Only $7.95 complete.**

Technical Data

Filter: 80% bone char, 20% silica quartz. Will process up to 200 gallons of water (approximately 4 month's worth for average family). Replacement filters $4 each (about 2¢ per gallon).

Outer casing and hose: Prime surgical-grade TYGON. Specifications: elongation percent, 400; temp. range, −40°F to 215°F; tensile strength, 2200 psi; durometer hardness (Shore-A), 68; dielectric strength (rapid-rise method), 386 v/m.

BALDWIN-WALLACE COLLEGE LIBRARY

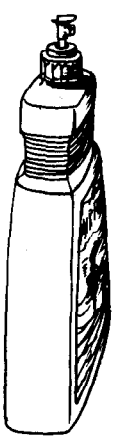
At last . . .

NON-TOXIC "NATURALORGANIC" INSECTICIDE SPRAY

Active ingredients contain no synthetic chemicals. Non-toxic to grown-ups, children, pets, birds, or any warm-blooded animals. Completely biodegradable, non-polluting, ecologically safe. Absorbed back into ecocycle as harmless compounds—unlike DDT, Parathion, and other TV-promoted sprays whose synthetic chemicals DO NOT READILY BREAK DOWN and thus re-enter ecocycle (and food-chain) as deadly poisons. Has no unpleasant "kerosene" odor common to other insecticides; mild "natural" scent does not "hang around". Also has "delayed-action" feature: sprayed bug can return to die in nest, there be eaten by others who will also die, thus multiplying effect of spray. (And leaving no dead bugs all over the middle of your floors!) Approved for advertising by NATIONAL AUDUBON SOCIETY MAGAZINE and featured at NATIONAL HEALTH FEDERATION Conventions. Active ingredients: Pyrethrins, 0.4%; Mineral Oil, 1.6%; Sesame Oil, 8.0%. Kills flies, mosquitoes, roaches, ants, water bugs, fleas, ticks, lice, gnats, bed bugs, hornets, wasps, silver fish, moths, spiders, etc. Don't risk poisoning your family or our biosphere. Use this safe spray indoors, outdoors, on pets and their bedding, potted or garden plants, etc. Keep all around home (and give a can to friends; convert them from TV-commercial sprays for all our sakes). **Three 8-oz. spray cans, $5.50.**

EARTH-ONE NON-SYNTHETIC CLEANER

No, you won't see it on network TV. Even though it's a marvel inside the home and out. And cleans hands, cars, baby things, dishes, walls, floors, men's and women's clothes and fine fabrics, glass, pots, grease — almost anything at all — much better than those so-called "miracle" detergents. But EARTH-ONE is *not* a detergent. Or even a soap. It contains *no* synthetic solvents or cleaning agents. So it is non-toxic. No harmful chemicals to hurt you. And no phosphates or NTA to pollute our lakes and streams. It's completely biodegradable. Works in hard water or soft (and hot water or cold!). No synthetic colorings, perfumes or preservatives added. Safe on all washable surfaces. Leaves a fresh clean odor everywhere. Why won't you see it on TV? Maybe because it's not very expensive. Only half-a-teaspoon does a whole floor. And just six drops does a whole family's hands. Ingredients: de-ionized water; an-ionic wetting agents; coconut oil derivatives; sodium carbonate. Concentrated to save you money. **1 qt. (enough to make up to 32 gallons of cleaning solution), only $2.96 (or less than 3¢ per quart!).**



NATURAL AIR-FRESHENER SPRAY

Contains no synthetic chemicals, is completely biodegradable, and non-toxic to people, pets, plants, and other living things. Which brings up a fact you might not know: The synthetic "carrier" gas (dichlorodifluoromethane) in virtually every aeresol freshener spary now sold is not only toxic in itself, but when inhaled can induce death through respiratory failure; though as you would expect, given the realities of the market place, this interesting fact has never been well-publicized. No synthetic scents or perfumes added. Natural lemon scent. And it really works! Eliminates cooking smells and kitchen odors, cigarette smells, bathroom odors — even male cat pan odor (how many other sprays can claim that?!). Active ingredients: Glycerine (less than 21%), essential oils (with terepines removed, of course!), coconut derivatives. Your spray comes in two parts. (1) Mechanical action spray bottle which is refillable and eliminates need for costly (and non-recyclable) aeresol cans; and (2) a liquid concentrate you mix with water to make spray as you need it. By mixing yourself you pay only for the concentrate, not the water (which makes up most of it!). Thus you save money and can re-use the mechanical spray bottle indefinitely. **Complete spray set including ten-oz. spray bottle and enough concentrate to make four 10-oz. bottles, only $4.95.**

All products on this page developed and/or distributed by The Ecological Food Society.

THE ECOLOGICAL FOOD SOCIETY

CERTIFIED AND DISTRIBUTED BY THE ECOLOGICAL FOOD SOCIETY. Look for this seal on foods, vitamins, appliances and other products as your assurance of purity and integrity

The Ecological Food Society

114 E. 40th St.
N. Y., N. Y. 10016

How many?	Item	Total
_____	Water Purifier(s) at $7.95 each plus 75¢ postage & handling.	$_____
_____	Insect Spray(s) at 3 cans for $5.50 plus 75¢ postage & handling.	$_____
_____	Air Freshener Spray(s) at $4.95 each plus 75¢ postage & handling.	$_____
_____	Earth-One Cleaner(s) at $2.96 each plus 75¢ postage & handling.	$_____
	N. Y. residents add appropriate sales tax.	$_____
	Total amount enclosed	$_____

Name_____

Address_____

City_____State_____Zip_____

Or charge Master Chge Card #_____

Exp. date _____ NR 87

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED